THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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Constitutional Guarantees Undermined

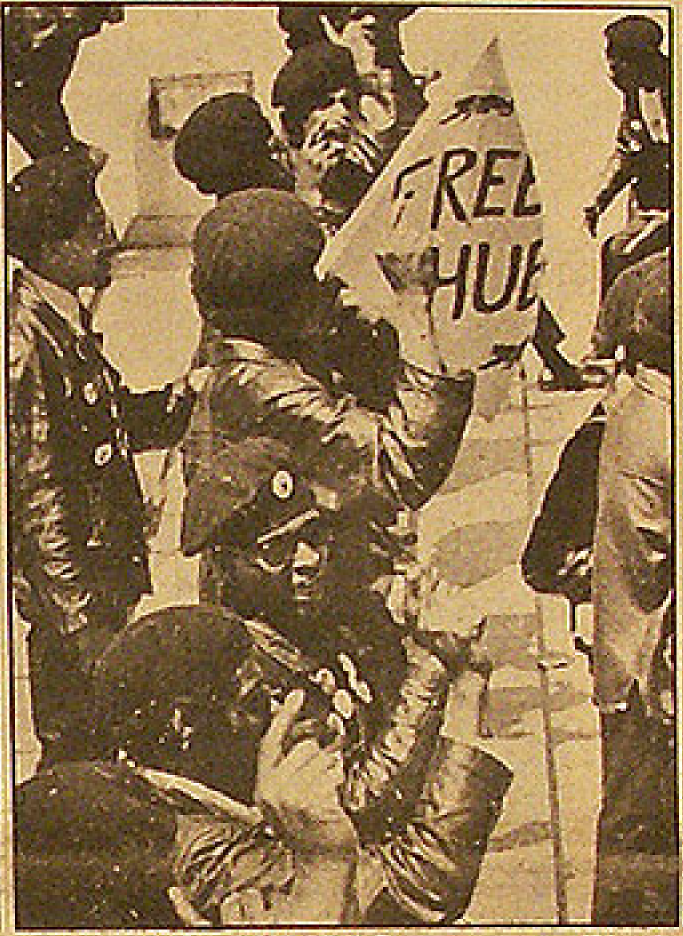
F.B.I. COINTELPRO FILES—"RIGHT TO DISSENT" UNDER ATTACK

(Washington, D.C.) - The "right to dissent" has long been portrayed as a cherished privilege of the American people guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution. Yet, according to close to 53,000 heavily-censored pages of documents released last week by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, all too often those who bravely practiced this "right" were harassed by federal police surveillance and/or victimized by other forms of illegal domestic intelligence abuses.

Such is the sordid, 15-year history of the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program), whose undercover operations systematically and deliberately violated Constitutional guarantees in a vain "dirty tricks" effort to purge America of valuable political dissenting opinion.

As the 52,648 pages released last week under the Freedom of Information Act indicate, the COINTELPRO program was initiated in 1956 by then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to illegally infiltrate and curtail the activities of the Communist Party in the United States. From that beginning until Hoover, without notice or explanation, defused the program in an April 28, 1971, memo, COINTELPRO grew to become an all-encompassing federal police attack against Black, Chicano, Native American, Puerto Rican and other minority rights activists, the anti-war movement and the progressive left sector of the American people.







In the 15-year history of the FBI's COINTELPRO program Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American activists have been prime targets in an effort to destroy the movement for progressive change in the U.S.

From 1967 to 1971 for example, the Black Panther Party was targeted for 233 of 295 COINTELPRO operations enacted against

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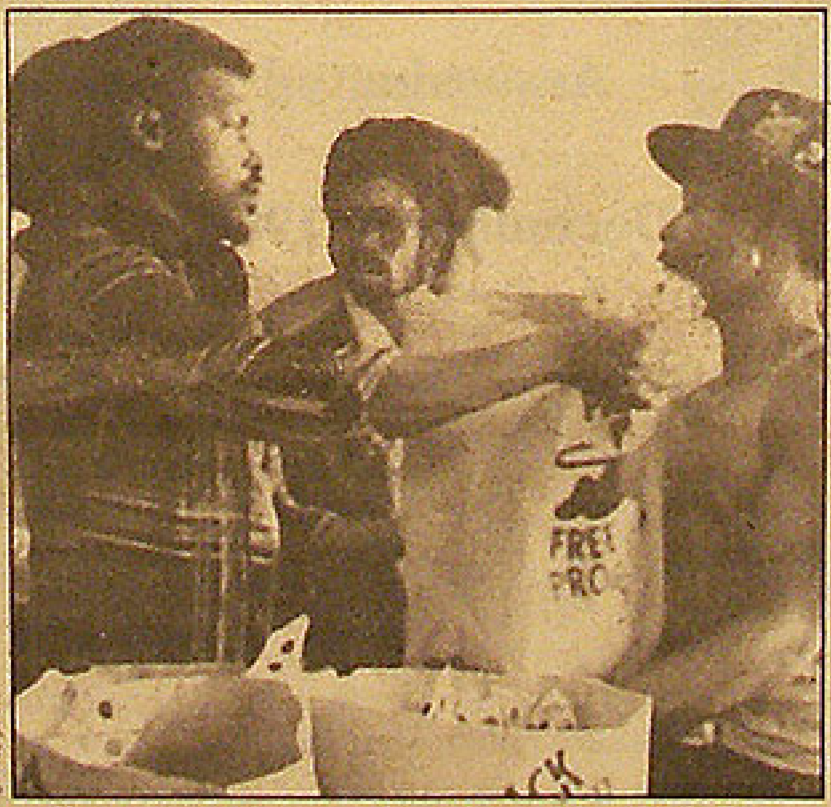
11-Month Campaign Continues

L.A.P.D. HARASSMENT OF B.P.P. DETAILED

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Since the reopening of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party 11 months ago, the notorious Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has continually attempted to harass and intimidate Party members and to obstruct Party activities.

In this year alone, the LAPD has been responsible for the deaths of over 30 people, many of whom have been murdered in cold blood. Los Angeles police, headed by the ultra-reactionary chief Ed Davis, have gained a reputation for their brutal treatment of Black and poor people.

Police repression in Los Angeles against the Black Panther Party has been as vicious as anywhere in the country, evidenced by the numerous unjust beatings, jailings, arrests and murders of Party members. An example of this treachery is the murder of Steve Bartholomew, Tommy Lewis and Robert Lawrence on August 25, 1968. The three BPP members had parked in a gas station when members of the LAPD's metro squad opened fire, killing them almost instantly.



BPINS photo

Free groceries are distributed by BPP Free Food Program in Los Angeles.

On December 8, 1969, four days after the murder of Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago, 500 police officers, led by the LAPD's infamous SWAT team, laid seige to the Southern California BPP Chapter's headquarters for over eight hours — while simultaneously 18 Party members were arrested throughout Los Angeles.

The Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party reopened on January 17, 1977, — eight years after Fallen Comrades Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins were murdered by members of the reactionary US organization while organizing Black students on the UCLA campus.

Since January 17 of this year the Southern

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Editorial

HORROR STORY

(1) A heart attack by a leading pro-independence Puerto Rican activist was hailed as a "positive result" of the harassment campaign.

(2) An anonymous letter was sent accusing a New Jersey college teacher of having sexual relations with his 13-year-old stepdaughter.

(3) Efforts were made to set-up a "cover group" that would have been "militant Negro, pro-Chicom [Chinese communist] anti-war, peace, pro-Arab or New Left-oriented."

Such were just a few of the revelations included in last week's release by the FBI of a 53,000-page horror story called COINTELPRO. An appropriate subtitle would be: "The Persecution and Assassination of the American Right to Dissent" as performed by the Federal Police under the direction of the Marquis de Hoover."

The release is said to form the most complete history to date of the notorious COINTELPRO operation, the federally-subsidized plot to undermine the U.S. Constitution. They used every dirty trick in the book — and stole others — to create the conditions in America for the establishment of a police state, and, indeed, were largely successful in their plans.

Yet is this a "complete history?" The answer must be a resounding No! Censored out from the pages released are names of the desperate "junkies" addicted to continuing misery and despair in Black and Brown communities, the Judas-traitors who would sell out a cause for "chump change," or because they couldn't be leaders, or to save their own skins.

Worse, nowhere do the files mention the broken lives, snuffed hopes and crushed dreams COINTELPRO carefully engendered. Nowhere is the political victim's side of the story presented.

Much like the chorus chanting, "Let's get Watergate behind us," we can all now expect to be asked to forget COINTELPRO as instant "ancient history." But can the American people afford to do that? Where, or when, has anyone ever explained what will stop them from doing the same thing again?□



Entries In American Committee On Africa Poster Contest.



Fallen Comrades

Assassinated

December 4, 1969



FRED HAMPTON **MARK CLARK**

On December 4, 1969, Illinois Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were assassinated in a predawn raid by Chicago police. Comrade Mark was killed instantly as he answered the door of the Westside Chicago apartment where Comrade Fred, the eloquent and courageous founder of the Illinois BPP Chapter, lived. Fred was murdered as he lay asleep in his bed, drugged by an FBI agent. FBI documents have proven that this raid was planned and executed as part of the federal police agency's COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) aimed at destroying the Black Panther Party and all progressive forces in this country. Long Live the Spirit of Comrade Fred Hampton! Long Live the Spirit of Comrade Mark Clark! Long Live the People's Struggle!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

COMMENT

Fred Hampton Speaks

For our Comment this week, THE BLACK PANTHER takes special pleasure in presenting excerpts from a July 5, 1969, speech by Fred Hampton, the dynamic and charismatic 21-year-old founder and coordinator of the Illinois State Chapter of the Black Panther Party, who was assassinated in his sleep by an elite Chicago police squad at the behest of the FBI on December 4, 1969.

"First of all we've got to talk about the main man. The main man in the Black Panther Party, the main man in the struggle today — in the United States, in Chicago, in Cuba and anywhere else — the main man in the liberation struggle is Huey P. Newton. He's the main man because the head of the imperialist octopus lies right in this country and whoever is dealing with the head of the octopus in this country is the main man. He's in jail now.

We must tell the world that Huey P. Newton was tried by the pigs and they found him guilty. He was tried by the people, who found him not guilty, and we say let him go, let him free, because we find him not guilty. This is our relentless demand. We will not let up one day, we will not give up the struggle to liberate our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. We will continue to exert pressure on the power structure and constantly bombard them with the people's demand that Huey P. Newton be set free.

It was Huey P. Newton who taught us how people learn. We learn by participation.

Our Breakfast for Children Program is feeding a lot of children and the people understand our Breakfast for Children Program. We say that theory's cool, but theory with no practice ain't shit. You've got to have both of them — the two go together. We have a theory about feeding kids free. What did we do? We put it into practice. That's how people learn.

A lot of people don't know how

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LANGUAGE SKILLS PROGRAM

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL-A MODEL IN ACTION

The following is Part 1 of an ongoing BLACK PANTHER series on the innovative educational program of the model elementary level Oakland Community School, now in its seventh year of providing quality education to Black and poor youth.

This week's article examines the School's Language curriculum.

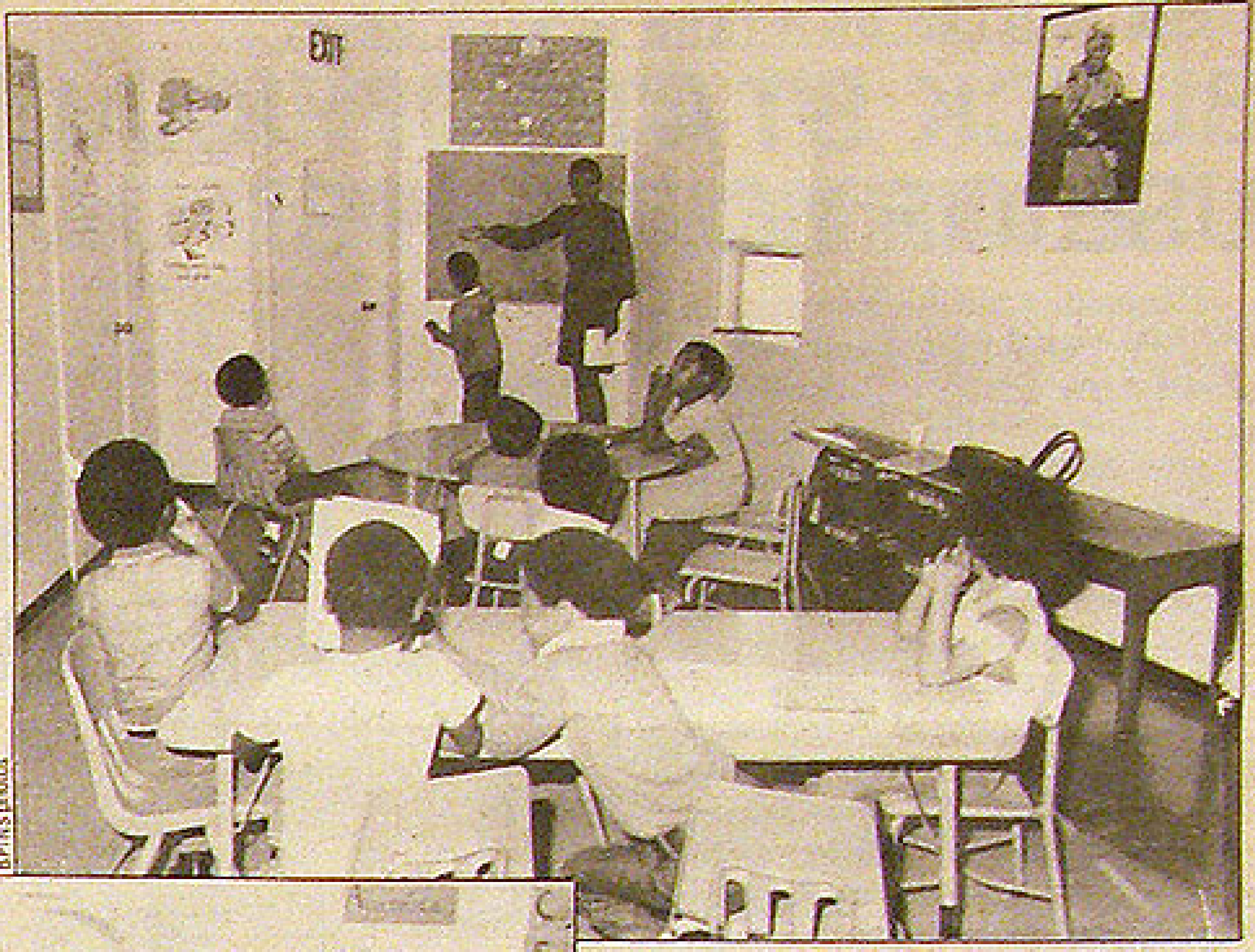
PART 1

(Oakland, Calif.) - "Why can't I say ain't? All my friends say it."

A child in a Language Arts class at the Oakland Community School (OCS) may feel continually frustrated by an instructor who tells the child to use "isn't" or "aren't" instead of "ain't," the latter which is considered a substandard English word.

To survive in American society, one must be able to read and write Standard English. Knowledge of Standard English is essential sicne language barriers have systematically been used to oppress Black and other poor people in this country.

The OCS, while on the one hand seeking to make its 160 predominantly Black and Chicano children proud of their rich cultural heritages, on the other hand has carefully constructed a language curriculum to insure that the children will obtain the language skills vital to living in the highly technological society of America..





Language Arts classes in session at the Oakland Community School.

The OCS Language Arts curriculum, written by the School's Language Arts Department, is divided into the following 10 skill areas:

•*Motor Skills* — (Primary Skills groups, including Levels, 1, 2 and 3.) These skills precede ability to read and write. Gross motor skills are concerned with developing large muscle coordination such as in jumping, running and balance. Fine motor skills relate to the development of manual dexterity and hand-to-eye coordination.

Visual motor skills are concerned with the ability to discern mentally, organize, act on and, where applicable, reproduce visually perceived patterns and information. Auditory motor skills concentrate on developing the ability to hear, mentally organize and act on orally given information.

•*Phonics* — Phonics is the study of letters and letter combinations that make up the speech sounds in language.

•*Structural Analysis* — This skill area is divided into two parts. Parts of speech include the nine divisions of all the words

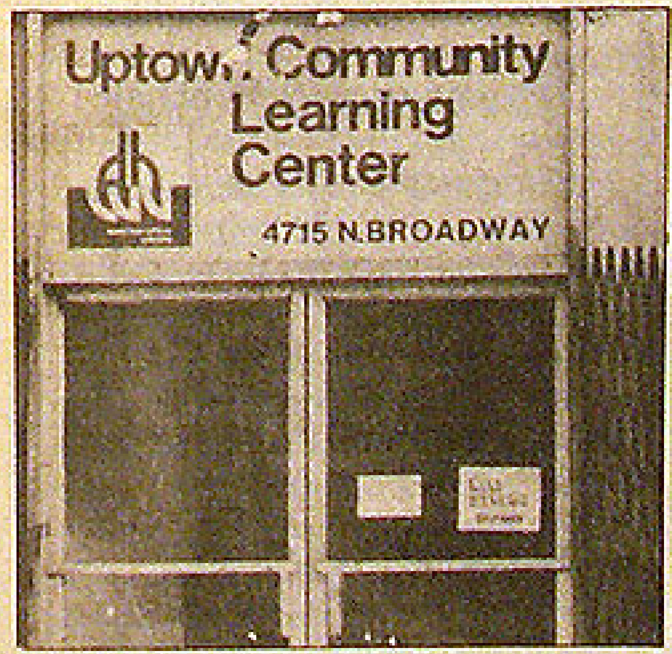
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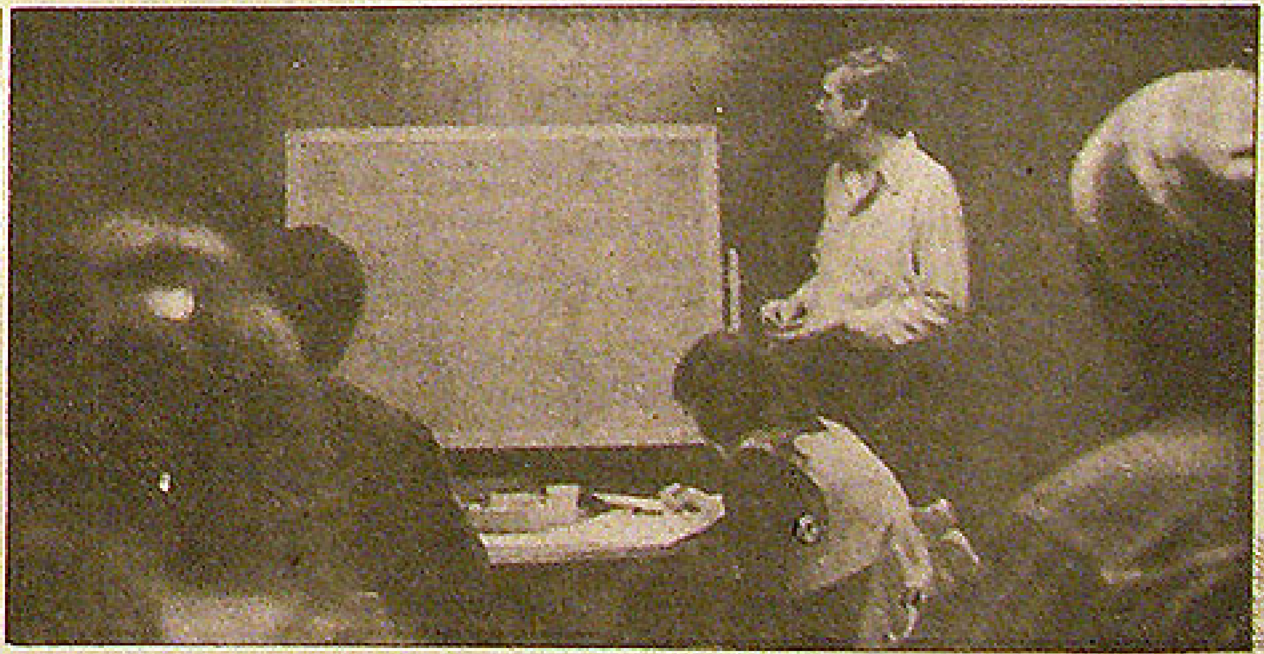
"PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL"

Uptown Community Learning Center: "We Can Move Mountains"

(Chicago, Ill.) - Keep Strong magazine last month visited the three month old Uptown Community Learning Center and talked with Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC) National Coordinator Slim Coleman, who serves as campus coordinator for the Uptown Campus of the Daniel Hale Williams University which functions there. Coleman discussed the program offered, and its role in the community's total "program for survival."

The center, located at 4715 N. Broadway, is a beautiful facility, brightly painted, clean and well organized and yet comfortable. Students moved in and out, going to classes, some studied in the student lounge, others talked quietly. A quick walk through the hectic, survival torn and sometimes fearful community surrounding the center only highlighted the determination to have a place, some place, where people from the oppressed community could think, and plan and prepare. It appeared that here was such a place.





The Uptown Community Learning Center will enable the unemployed to gain vital skills. Campus coordinator SLIM COLEMAN teaching class (right photo).

PART 1

Q: Maybe we could start by asking you to explain the purpose of the Learning Center and describe how it got started.

COLEMAN: Simply stated, there was a need in this community for our people to get concrete employment skills. The more this city, following along with the rest of the country, began to close out those without employment qualifications, the greater we saw the need become. Then too, as part of the Daniel Hale Williams University, the students attending here are able to get something that

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RILES GRILLED ON STAND IN BIAS TRIAL

BLACK STATE OFFICIAL SUPPORTS USE OF I.Q. TESTS

(Oakland, Calif.) - Refusing to say that the standardized intelligence tests given to schoolchildren in California discriminate against Blacks, state Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles last week testified he firmly favored the continued use of I.Q. tests in public schools.

Riles controversial position has been opposed by several noted psychologists, sociologists and educators who have testified as expert witnesses before U.S. District Court Judge Robert Peckham in the class action *Larry P. vs. Riles* lawsuit.

INJUNCTION

Plaintiffs in the case, six Black schoolchildren and their parents, are seeking permanent injunction against the defendants, the city of San Francisco and the state Boards of Education, barring them from placing Blacks in classes for the educable mentally retarded (EMR) on the basis of low-I.Q. scores. The plaintiffs argue that standardized I.Q. tests are racially- and culturally-biased against Blacks and systematically underestimate their learning ability. The mentally-retarded label, the plaintiffs add, stigmatizes the youth for the rest of their lives.

In 1972 and 1974, Judge Peckham issued preliminary injunctions, barring the city and state, respectively, from such racist placements, but did not prohibit the use of I.Q. tests.

Called by the plaintiffs as an adverse witness since he is a defendant in the case Riles—who is Black, and was recently sharply criticized for casting the deciding vote in favor of a U.C. Board of Regents proposal that will limit the enrollment of Black and minority students — was grilled by attorney Armando Menocal of Public Advocates.





Culturally- and racially-biased I.Q. tests have been used to systematically deny Black children access to a decent education. Many normal Black children end up in classes for the mentally retarded.

The thrust of Riles testimony was that I.Q. tests weighted in favor of those with middle-class backgrounds and against those who are poor and culturally-deprived, without regard to race.

But the state should continue to administer I.Q. tests, Riles maintained, to assess how students are doing.

"I do not think the [IQ] tests discriminate," Riles said. I think the people [teachers] discriminate in the way they interpret them."

"I like 'guns don't kill people?' Menocal asked sarcastically.

"I don't know about guns, I know about tests," Riles snapped back.

"There's no question that there is a bias [in the tests] against the culturally-disadvantaged," the Black state official continued.

"If Blacks are disavantaged, you will have to deal with that fact. I don't think it's a color thing. Advantaged Blacks perform just like Whites."

He defined disadvantaged as those who suffered poverty, unemployment, illness, isolation and lack of education.

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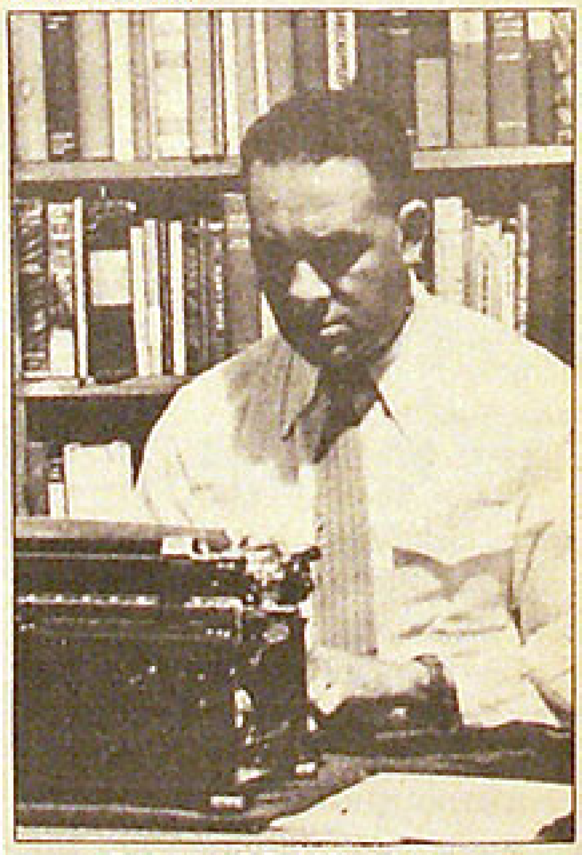
This Week In Black History

November 28, 1960

On November 28, 1960, novelist Richard Wright died at the age of 52. It was Wright who in the 1940's set the standard of writing on personal experience to dramatize racial injustice and its dehumanizing effects in America.

In 1938, Wright published *Uncle Tom's Children*, a collection of four novels based on his Mississippi boyhood memories. It was for this book that Wright received the Guggenheim Fellowship. Two years later, the publication of *Native Son*, a novel about Black oppression in Chicago further enhanced Wright's reputation. *Native Son* was later a successful Broadway play, and was followed by *12 Million Black Voices* in 1941. Wright's novel *Black Boy*, was published in 1945.

Wright later moved to Paris where he continued to write fiction and non-fiction, including *The Outsider* (1953); *Black Power* (1954); *Salvage Holiday* (1954-1955); *The Labor Curtain* (1956); *The Long Dream* (1958); *Lawd Today* (1963), and *Fight Men* (1961).



RICHARD WRIGHT

November 29, 1972

A Black People's Committee of Inquiry investigating the murder of two Black students during a protest at Southern University announces they found that students had not been occupying an administration building as charged, that they had been negotiating in good faith and that police had been undisciplined in their action in a statement released on November 29, 1972.



DICK GREGORY is arrested during apartheid protest.

Dick Gregory Jailed In Washington, D.C. Apartheid Protest

(Washington, D.C.) - Black comedian and human rights activist Dick Gregory, his wife Lillian along with Massachusetts state senator Bill Owens and several others were arrested last week in a demonstration against apartheid in front of the South African embassy here.

Gregory, his wife and Owens refused bail and were jailed overnight on charges of demonstrating within 500 feet of a foreign embassy.

Before the protest in front of the embassy, Gregory had led a picket-line demonstration in front of the White House. There, in a statement, Gregory said:

"As Americans sit down at the table or kneel in prayer on this day of thanksgiving, let us dedicate this notion to the noble purpose of 'thanks-living' for all people of the world."

Referring to U.S. vetos of strict economic sanctions against South Africa in the U.N. Security Council while voting for passage of a mild arms embargo, Gregory said that the United States should do more than "slap the wrist of those enforcing slavery, murder and economic immorality while at the same time prohibiting the freedom to speak, read and write.

"We ask you to move swiftly to demonstrate to the rulers of the world's most wicked government that our nation will no longer help to subsidize human degradation..."

Placards carried by marchers reading "Thou Shalt Not Kill" were inscribed with lists of 21 persons who have died in South African jails since 1976.

The demonstration also focused attention to expansive U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa and open U.S. government support of apartheid.□

"PROGRESS" FOR SOME

POVERTY FLOURISHES IN SOUTH'S BOOMING "SUNBELT" REGION

(Raleigh, N.C.) - Just north of this city in eastern North Carolina, along U.S. 1, rows of sleek, modern factories stand where there were once pine woods and tobacco fields.

The names — Westinghouse, Burlington, Mallinkrodt — suggest the industrial transformation that has changed the face of this part of the country.

North Carolina has been heralded as a leader of the "New South," part of a booming "Sunbelt" — extending from here all the way to California — a region whose sudden prosperity has made it the most dynamic part of the American economy.

And on the surface, cities like Raleigh and nearby Durham that were once sleepy, squalid and eternally segregated now appear prosperous, dynamic and smoothly integrated. The effects of two decades of civil rights activity and a decade of economic growth are clearly visible.

But that picture is at best only a half-truth, for the Old South's new development has been uneven and distorted, overlaid on a structure of social and economic relations that has changed little despite surface signs of "progress."

The new high-technology industries that employ them have had little effect on the lives of the state's reservoir of low-skilled and poor people, *Pacific News Service* reports.

Nor do North Carolina's more traditional industries provide a decent living for the state's long impoverished Black and White working class.

This year, North Carolina lost the dubious distinction — to Mississippi — of paying the lowest industrial wages in the nation. But it still ranks 49th in wage levels, and the gap between its wages and the national average is growing rapidly.

In 1971, North Carolina's industrial workers earned $21 per week less than the national norm. Today, they earn $55 a week less.

Not surprisingly, North Carolina is the least unionized state in the nation, and its industires

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In North Carolina's "Sunbelt" region, conditions are steadily worsening for Black and poor people despite "progress" for leading industrialists.



Family is forced out of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district by high rents caused by real estate speculators.

REAL ESTATE SPECULATORS DRIVING POOR PEOPLE OUT

S.F. RAP Program "Like The Neutron Bomb"

(San Francisco, Calif.) It was moving day recently for Larry and Carol Jennings and their two small children.

"We can't afford to live here anymore," Larry explained. "We're moving out of San Francisco altogether. I'm a welder and my wife is a teacher but we can't get steady work. I can't break into the union. Our landlady just sold our building and the new landlord is jacking our rent up from $250 to $335 a month. She bought the building two years ago for $40,000 and sold it for $69,000. Four years ago it went for $20,000. And it's a hole. Bare electrical wires, holes in the walls, all she did was paint the outside. At the most she put in $1,000 and got our $19,000. A lot of our friends have been

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"RIGHT TO DISSENT" UNDER ATTACK

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Party's largely-successful Free Breakfast Program for School-children particularly aroused Hoover's ire as a "most dangerous endeavor."

News stories last week generally paid little attention to the more than 6,000 pages of files dealing with COINTELPRO plots against the Black community.

What can be garnered from these reports, however, shows that FBI agents — particularly in Chicago and San Francisco, but elsewhere around the country as well — had little sympathy for the civil rights movement, while frequently using derogatory racial stereotypes and slurs to describe Black activists.

A 1968 COINTELPRO memo from the San Francisco FBI office to Washington, D.C., is typical:

"In seeking effective counter-intelligence, it should perhaps be borne in mind that the two things foremost in the militant Negro's mind are sex and money. The first [sex] is often promiscuous and freely-shared. White moral standards do not apply among this type of Negro."

LEAKING

Another San Francisco memo in 1968 referred to one of the most frequently employed tactics of the COINTELPRO effort — "leaking" through alleged "anonymous" letters or by other means, derogatory information about one group to the news media or to allies or rivals of that group.

Other efforts sought to forment violence between Black and other minority groups.

The files made public last week — said to be 80 per cent of the 68,000 pages amassed on COINTELPRO operations — also reveal that starting in 1960, the federal police agency began an extensive campaign in New York City and Puerto Rico to disrupt and demoralize political parties advocating independence of the small, U.S.-controlled Caribbean island.

Although many pro-independence groups were targets in the campaign, the most consistant recipients of anonymous hate letters and leaflets were the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and its leader, Juan Mari Bras, presently secretary-general of the mass-supported Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Bras's heart attack in April, 1964, was one of the "positive results" the documents cite for the FBI's campaign against him and his party.

The anti-independence campaign began in 1960 with fears that the Cuban Revolution might be exported to Puerto Rico.

Originally, this FBI program was designed to disrupt parties "which seek independence of Puerto Rico through other than lawful peaceful means," yet, the documents show, that at least two of the campaign's most consistent targets did not have violence as a goal.

The Puerto Rican Independence Movement, founded in 1959, "did not advocate violence but would accept anyone who believed in Puerto Rican independence," one report shows. And the Pro-Independence Federation of Universities was founded at the University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras in 1956 to work for independence peacefully and reform the university.

As the COINTELPRO campaign began, informants were instructed to "report even the slightest bits of information concerning the personal lives" of their subjects in New York City. Trouble with wives, welfare boards or unemployment boards, the documents explained, could — and were — to be turned to the Bureau's advantage.

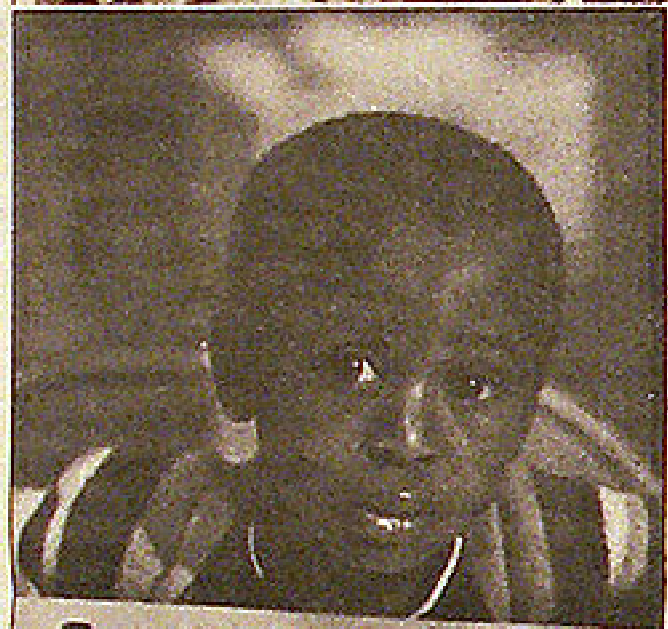
In September, 1962, a Bronx dentist sympathetic to Puerto Rican independence was the subject of an anonymous FBI letter to New York State officials. The ungrammatical letter accused the man of practicing without a license and asked, "Why don't you stop this man from hurt the Spanish people."

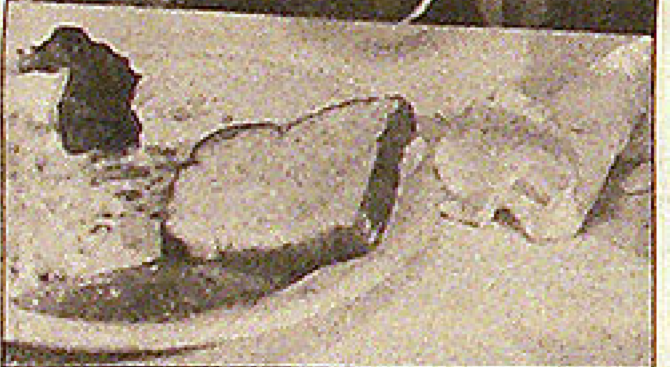
In 1964, the Bureau sent an anonymous letter to a man accused in a bomb plot informing him that his estranged wife was romantically involved with Bras. "If you are too much of a fool to resent being a cuckold, I as a friend will not allow it to go on," the letter said.

On another occasion, a letter was sent to a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist League who was "known to be extremely sensitive to criticism and prone to violence." The letter, purportedly written by Mari Bras's group, was "calculated to infuriate," its recipient.

The purpose of this, according to the documents was "to promote the current ill feeling" between the two groups and "perhaps provoke further physical violence between members of these groups."









The Native American movement, BPP Survival Programs like the Free Breakfast Program (left) and the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, led by JUAN MARI BRAS (bottom photo right), have been victims of FBI sabotage.

Other documents released by the FBI show that the Bureau tried to set the Communist Party and the Mafia at each other's throats. The battle they hoped would consume time, money and energy.

A fake letter written on cheap paper from a nonexistent working man was sent to three alleged Mafia leaders.

The letter said: "Some day through socialist reform, we communists will take over this country and then we will be able to fight you people good with our own bombs and guns only we'll come in the daytime — no sneak around in the dark like the shiny cockroaches you are."

Other ploys were tried, but the Bureau reported in July, 1968, that "none have produced substantial tangible results."

As the Vietnam War heated up and the antiwar movement formed, the FBI turned its COINTELPRO methods on these organizations. The papers released last week spanned a substantial number of groups.

The Bureau had COINTELPRO against Yugoslavian groups, Cuban groups and the Socialist Workers Party, as well as the Puerto Rican nationalists, left-leaning antiwar radicals, Black groups and White militants.

There was no clear formula that caused a particular group to become a target," the *New York Times* reports. □

SAN FRANCISCO

Fired C.E.T.A. Worker Charges Racial Bias

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A Black worker, Gloria Davis, has charged that her recent unjust firing from the San Francisco City Clerk's office is the result of racial bias and a general contempt for CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) employees.

Mrs. Davis was fired on November 14 on unfounded charges of excessive absenteeism and a Black co-worker, Janice Curry, was placed on suspension. On Thursday, November 10, Mrs. Davis was sick and called into work to say that she wouldn't be there. But Ms. Curry, thinking she had seen her at work, signed Mrs. Davis in.

Assistant City Clerk Robert Hare Cater accused the women of plotting to make it look as if Mrs. Davis had worked when she hadn't.

"Now isn't that ridiculous," says Mrs. Davis. "Why would I phone in if I wanted to trick them?"

Mrs. Davis contends that the real reason for her firing is that her supervisors have displayed their dislike of Black workers and of CETA workers of any color.

One of the supervisors in the office, Bill Fletcher, had casually mentioned to Ms. Curry (who because of her light complexion

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"NO DIRECT BENEFITS"

WELFARE RIGHTS ADVOCATES OPPOSE PASSAGE OF HARMFUL LEGISLATION

(Washington, D.C.) - A Social Security financing bill containing provisions which are severely damaging to welfare recipients is scheduled to go before the House of Representatives shortly, and welfare rights advocates are quickly organizing opposition to prevent its passage.

A Senate version of the bill, including the welfare amendments, was passed last month and the bill now has to go to the House for final approval. Many of the amendments attached to the bill are extremely harmful to poor families. According to the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law there is "nothing in the package that provides any direct benefits to poor people."

Some of the amendments included in the bill passed by the Senate provide for:

•Increased state welfare department access to confidential information contained in social security wage records and unemployment compensation wage records;

•Increased federal funding for states that reduce AFDC (Aid to Families With Dependent Children) overpayment error rates without any consideration for errors which result in underpayment or erroneous termination of aid payments;

•Substantial reduction in "earned income disregards" which encourage families to become independent through employment. "Earned income disregards" allow families to retain their aid and medical coverage even if their earned income equals the payment they were entitled to without working.





Angry welfare mothers stage protest outside grocery store (above) and (right) Black woman with her young child. New bill in House could seriously affect poor people.

Some members of Congress have already expressed opposition to the welfare amendments contained in the bill. Opponents have also argued that these amendments should not have been placed in a Social Security financing bill.

Other members of the House have objected to the fact that they are being required to consider this legislation without any Senate action on H.R. 7200, a welfare bill which is considerably more in favor of aid recipients.

H.R. 7200 contains amendments relating to improving SSI (Social Security Income) and its services, and increased matching funds for AFDC in Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands. If the House accepts any of the welfare provisions in H.R. 9346, they will be unable to push for the welfare amendments in H.R. 7200.

The Center on Welfare Policy and Law warns that pressure must be applied to the House and the Senate from "poor people and their allies." Opponents of the bill should express their feelings to their respective representatives and to members of the House Ways and Means and Public Assistance subcommittees.

For more information or if you would like to become involved in a national effort to oppose this bill, please contact the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law, 95 Madison Avenue, New York, New York (212) 679-3709.□

PROTEST LOW PRICES, DEMAND FULL PARITY

25,000 Ga. Farmers Stage Huge Demonstration

(Plains, Ga.) - Some 10,000 to 15,000 tractors rolled into Plains Thanksgiving Day, tangling up highway traffic for miles and virtually immobilizing President Carter's hometown in a massive protest by 25,000 farmers who are threatening a nationwide strike on December 14 over high production costs and low crop prices.

At an afternoon rally — in a field behind the Carter family's peanut warehouse complex — believed to be the biggest gathering ever seen in Plains (population 683), Georgia farmers and their families angrily protested the Carter administration's weak price supports.

The farmers chided the President's cousin, state Senator Hugh Carter, who tried to defend Jimmy Carter — who avoided the protest by spending his Thanksgiving vacation at Camp David, Maryland.



Over 15,000 tractors rolled into Plains, Georgia, on Thanksgiving Day in protest staged by over 25,000 farmers critical of Carter's farm policy.

"I understand your problems and I know Jimmy Carter understands your problems, too," Hugh Carter told the rally.

Booing broke out among the farmers, and one shouted, "Then why isn't he here?"

Among the protesters were the President's elder sister, Gloria Carter Spann, and her husband, Walter, a Plains farmer. Mrs. Spann has been answering her

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N.A.A.C.P. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AT OAKLAND BENEFIT

BENJAMIN HOOKS: "HOW SOON WE FORGET WHERE WE CAME FROM"

The following is Part 2 of a stirring speech given by NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks on November 19 at a National Achievement Week Awards luncheon co-sponsored by the Oakland NAACP and Omega Psi Phi Fraternity.



NAACP Executive Director BENJAMIN HOOKS.

PART 2

"Rosa Parks, in a sense, produced a Ralph Abernathy, a Martin Luther King, a Fred Shuttlesworth, a Walter Fauntroy, an Andrew Young. This woman, by her bravery and gallantry, started the marching feet of thousands of Black people in the streets of Montgomery until the walls of prejudice and segregation came falling down.

"This woman who was a spark for the modern civil rights movement, 20 some years after her gallant sacrifice, our young people didn't know who she was. How soon we forget where we came from.

"There's a beautiful story in the Book of Joshua in which Joshua led the children of Israel across into the promised land. They got on the other side, and he looked at them and said, 'Get ready now, to drink from wells that you didn't dig. Get ready to live in houses that you didn't build. Be prepared to pluck olives from trees that you didn't plant. And since you're going to have all of these things, he sent the priest back to the river and said, 'Get forth stones from the middle of the bed of the river, and keep them up so when your children and your children's children come by and ask you what these stones mean, you can say to them, 'The Lord has brought us safe thus far.'

"I think that we as Black folk have an obligation to take time out from the pursuit of fun, pleasure, study, whatever it is, and gather our children around us and tell them where we've come from and where we've been, in order that we might get a clearer and more concise picture of where we plan to go.

"There's no way from the short side of heaven to the long side of hell to know where you're going if you don't understand where you've been.

"There are a few of us who think we have made it. We've got our little Brooks Brothers suits, our Ivy League briefcases and our little token jobs. We're commissioners of the FCC, state senators, city councilmen, and — God bless your happy hearts — even mayors now.

"We have these little jobs like assistant superintendent of curriculum in the public school system, and we wear our Tiffarily dresses, but we've forgotten already where we came from.

"Let me tell you something. Many of us are where we are not because we were so smart or so brilliant. Doubtless our grandmothers and fathers had more sense accidently than we have on purpose. We're here because somebody sacrificed to put us here. So soon we forget.

"The NAACP has engaged in bloody battles. I cannot stand here without remembering the four little girls who died in the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham. I still remember those nine young people who marched across the television screen through cat calls, spit and bricks, the National Guard in Little Rock called out to protect them when they integrated Central High School.

"I cannot forget the body of Emmett Till flying from the Tallahassee River or the bodies of Malcolm, Martin or Medgar, their blood draining out. How can we forget where we have come from? How quickly we have forgotten the sacrifices!

"Men and women who couldn't read their names in box car letters started these Negro colleges, as we call them. White folks who came from the North put their nickels and dimes together, but today most Black colleges are overburdened with bankruptcy because those of us who finished from them, who owe them so much, won't give a dime to keep the doors open. How soon, how soon, we forget.

"We have an obligation to 25 million Black folk. If we couldn't somehow get one dollar per person then we could support every organization worthwhile supporting.

"We must get that core of leadership, the brilliant, the best and the brightest among us to understand that they stand today on the shoulders of those who did without so that they might go forward.

"We must talk to our young people who are sometimes hostile and bitter toward us, who don't understand where we've come from. Let us make them take a seat sometime and talk to them about the road that we've come over. Tell what it was to live in the South where every acre was a drop of blood and every step a tear. Tell how your mother didn't sleep when you were out at night for fear that you'd never make it back. Tell them what it felt like to feel fear so pervasive that you could almost cut it with a knife.

"I went back to Memphis in 1949 and rejoined the NAACP, got active in my fraternity, in civic clubs and everything else I could become a part of. Voter registration drives kept moving, inching along, fighting and raising hell, retreating sometimes, but never giving up.

"One day, 16 years later, I went back to Memphis, Tennessee. I stood in the criminal court of Shelby County behind the bench of a judge who had vowed that I would never practice in his court. I put on a black robe, held up this right hand and swore to uphold the laws of the state of Tennessee and the United States of America because I believe that it is possible to make progress if we go after it in the right way.

"How can I forget that the NAACP made it possible for me

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PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

N.A.A.C.P. Wins In Miss.

(Jackson, Miss.) - The state supreme court recently reversed and dismissed a $240,000 libel suit brought by a White state highway patrolman against the NAACP. The case involved Patrolman Robert E. Moody who was charged with brutalizing a Black motorist in December, 1974, and sued the NAACP and others for slander when the brutality charge was dismissed.

Gary Tyler Trial Rejected

(New Orleans, La.) - Over 100 people demonstrated here recently to protest Judge Ruche Marino's rejection of Gary Tyler's plea for a new trial. Tyler's attorney, Jack Peebles, charged that Tyler's original lawyer had not represented him effectively at the 1975 trial at which Tyler — who is serving a life sentence in Angola State Prison — was convicted on false charges of killing a White youth. Peebles also presented evidence that Blacks were systematically excluded from the grand jury that indicted Tyler and the all-White jury that convicted him.

Subminimum Wage O.K.'ed

(Washington, D.C.) - Employers may now hire up to six full-time students at 85 per cent of the minimum wage, the Labor Department announced last week. Prior to recent amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, employers could hire only up to four full-time students at subminimum wages.

Racism In Alaska

(Anchorage, Alaska) - Lieutenant Governor Lowell Thomas, Jr. told the Alaska Black Caucus last week that he opposes interracial marriage because it "goes against nature. It goes against my nature." The White lieutenant governor, son of world traveler and news commentator Lowell Thomas, addressed the Caucus after comments he made on his recent return from a South Africa visit sparked angry protest in the Black community. Thomas said that if Blacks there were given the right to vote, the South African economy would "go to hell in a handbasket." Thomas said, "I'm deeply hurt that anyone should consider me a racist."

42% DECLINE

Oakland Schools Hit By "White Flight"

(Oakland, Calif.) - According to a report presented to the Oakland School Board last week, this city's school district has lost half of its White students in the past six years due to "White flight" to the suburbs.

A report on the Oakland Unified School District's (OUSD's) racial and ethnic composition revealed that while the city had almost 15,000 White students enrolled in public schools in October, 1971, by last March that figure had dropped to 8,603 — a decline of about 42 per cent.

In 1971 the District was 60.5 per cent Black, 24.1 per cent White, 8.5 per cent Hispanic (Spanish-speaking), 5.2 per cent Asian and .5 per cent Native American.



Black students are the overwhelming majority in Oakland public schools.

In March of this year, however, the District was 67.4 per cent Black, 16.4 per cent White, 7.9 per cent Hispanic, 7.5 per cent Asian and .8 per cent Native American.

The District has about 10,000 fewer students than it did in 1971 and this is mainly attributed to "White flight" to the suburbs, a national phenomenon.

The number of Black students declined by about 2,000 or six per cent to a March, 1977, total of 35,287, and the number of Hispanic students dropped by about 1,100, to a total of 4,134, reports the *Oakland Tribune*.

An example of the drastic reduction in White students is the case of Burbank Elementary School. In 1971 Burbank was 44 per cent Black and 41 per cent White. Now it is 81 per cent Black and eight per cent White.□

CHARGE CITY COUNCIL "APATHY, COLLUSION" IN WEST OAKLAND JUNK ISSUE

(Oakland, Calif.) - The ad hoc West Oakland Junkyard Committee has charged the Oakland city government with "apathy, incompetency and collusion" due to the failure of local officials to rid the community of illegal junkyards.

At a recent Oakland City Council meeting, members of the mostly Black, Junkyard Committee became furious when the Council refused to conduct a public hearing with junkyard owners and operators. Instead of scheduling a hearing the Council referred the complaints to its Public Works Committee for further review.

JUNK PILE

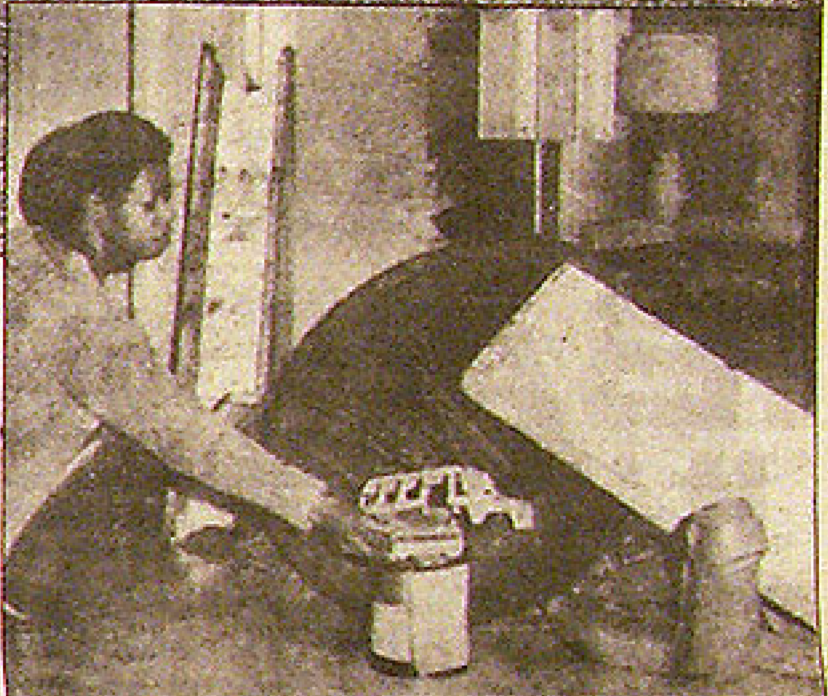
However, before leaving City Hall, the Committee piled up junk outside the office of City Manager Cecil Riley, who has drawn criticism from West Oakland residents for not enforcing regulations against illegal junkyards.

Four months ago, a small group of West Oakland residents went before the Oakland City Council to demand that action be taken against illegal junkyards which were springing up in vacant lots.

After meeting with Assistant City Manager George Dini, members of the Committee were expecting immediate results from the city.

However, little progress, if any, has been made in doing away with about 20 illegal junkpiles in West Oakland.





West Oakland residents are angry over the existence of unsightly and illegal junkyards in their community. In a City Hall protest (right) junk is piled in front of the office of Oakland City Manager Cecil Riley.

"They (city officials) don't seem to be cooperating," says Committee spokesperson Mrs. Willie Monroe. "They seem more on the dealers' side than our side. They seem to be working against us instead of with us."

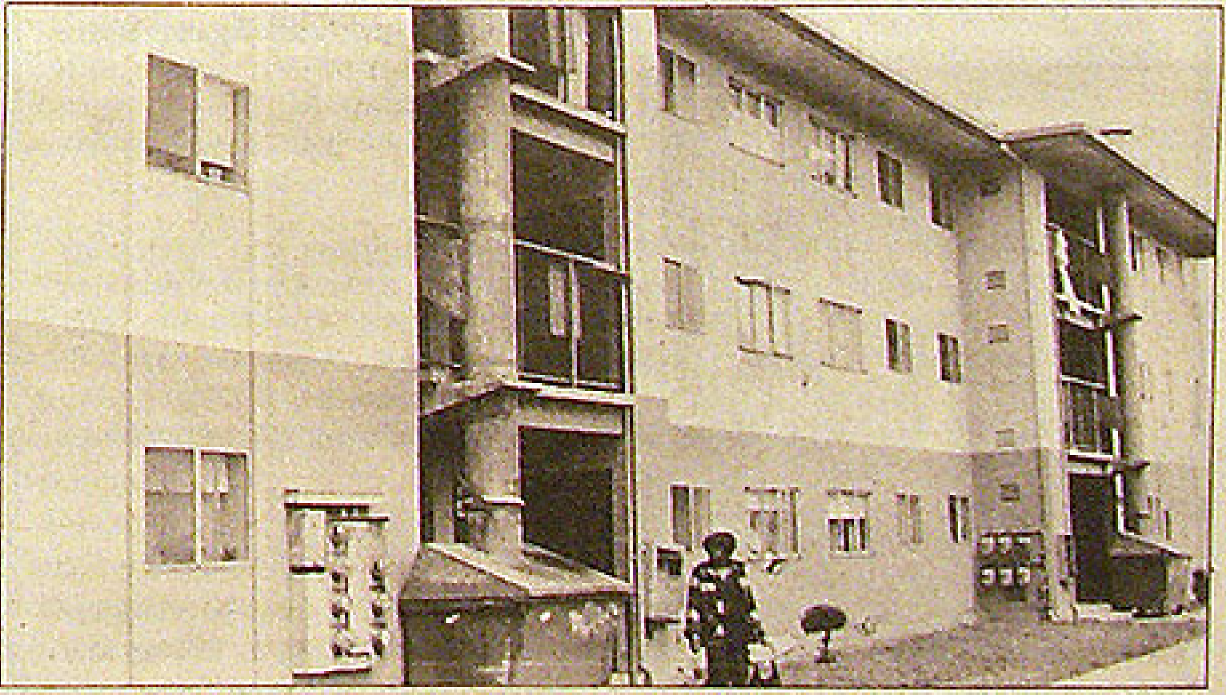
Dini admitted in the July 14 meeting, that he had been aware of the operations of the worst offender, Johnny Lyons, who operates eight illegal junkyards in West Oakland.

So far 47 notices — all of which have been ignored — have been mailed out to property owners owning land containing excessive junk. Only slight improvements have been made on nine of the properties.□

Promises, But No Action, For San Antonio Villa

(Oakland, Calif.) - In recent meetings with Black Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson and California Governor Jerry Brown, San Antonio Villa residents have received commitments to improve degrading living conditions in the East Oakland housing project, especially in the area of recreation.

At a meeting last Friday with Mayor Wilson, Mrs. Autry Smith and Ms. Jackie Jones talked specifically about the serious problem of recreation. Hopefully the Villa's "recreation center" can be replaced, said Mayor Wilson, by renovating one of the buildings in the project for use as an activities center. Tentatively, this activities center will house city and county agencies, a proposed health center and recreational facilities.



Building in decaying San Antonio Villa housing project.

Wilson stated that he would meet with Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) Director Harold Davis and the head of the city's Parks and Recreation, Hap Smith, to see if this can be accomplished in the near future.

For the recreational activities, two aides would be hired, and in the summer the activities center could provide employment for a couple of teenagers who live in San Antonio.

The Black mayor said he would also look into the possibility of extending the number of hours the present facilities are open for

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L.A.P.D. HARASSMENT

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

California BPP Chapter has been subjected to the following harassment:

•From January 17, 1977, to May 28, 1977, the Party's office and the home of the chapter's coordinator, Bob Duren, were under constant surveillance by the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS);

•On March 3, 1977, Bob Duren and three companions were stopped without cause by LAPD;

•On April 27, 1977, BPP member Robert "Sharief" Kendrick and Greg Franklin were beaten and arrested on false charges of assault and battery on a peace officer;

•On May 12, 1977, Kendrick and Franklin were arrested by officers from the 77th Precinct for "obstructing traffic" while standing at a bus stop;

•On June 9, 1977, David Bryant was harassed while selling papers;

•BPP members Kendrick and Steve Harris were stopped unnecessarily on June 15, 1977. Kendrick was arrested for not having a picture on his I.D.;

•On July 27, 1977, several BPP members were walking into a home when a LAPD patrol car pulls up and shines a spotlight on them;

•On September 3, 1977, Kendrick, Bryant and Duren were harassed while in downtown Los Angeles selling newspapers. All three were arrested for "solicitation" and "inciting a riot";

•On October 22, 1977, Duren was arrested by the LAPD and charged with "resisting arrest." Duren was riding home after a demonstration against President Carter at the Century Plaza Hotel when the car was stopped by police. The BPP coordinator refused to be searched and was brutally attacked by an officer Neri. The case was later thrown out of court;

•On October 27, 1977, Duren and a friend, Nidu Day, were driving home after selling papers in downtown Los Angeles when they were stopped by a LAPD patrol car. The car was searched and Duren and Day were arrested on false charges of possession of marijuana for sale. Bail was set at $5,000. The following day Duren and Day were released on their own recognizance and the felony charges reduced to misdemeanors.

In 11 months the Southern California BPP Chapter has been very active in the community and has implemented such programs as the People's Free Legal Aid and Educational Program, Liberation School, Consumer's Survival Service, People's Physical Culture Program, Free Food Program and the Free Martial Arts Program.





BPINS photos

Southern California BPP coordinator BOB DUREN with happy recipients of groceries from the Free Food Program and (right) Party member escorts senior citizen in SAFE (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) Program.

As the Chapter regains a foothold in the community, police repression has steadily increased. However, members of the Southern California BPP Chapter will not allow the LAPD to stop them in their efforts to organize the Black community of Los Angeles.□

SURVIVAL PROGRAMS

OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CHAPTER

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

People's Free Legal Aid And Educational Program (Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance referral service for people who are in need.)

Intercommunal News Service (Provides the community with an alternate source of news through the distribution of the BLACK PANTHER newspaper, **Keep Strong**, and the **Intercommunal Spark**, the Southern California Chapter's newsletter.)

Liberation School; Tutorial Sessions (Provides individualized and group instruction in Black and African History; home-work assistance; Basic Sciences.)

Consumer's Survival Service (Provides assistance to victims of business abuse and false advertising.)

People's Physical Culture Program (Builds, strengthens and disciplines minds and bodies through scientifically directed recreation and exercise activities; sponsors nutrition counselling, physical conditioning and preventive health maintenance services.)

Free Martial Arts Program (Provides free, professional self-defense instruction.)

Free Food Program (Provides periodic mass distribution of groceries.)

Free Films And Community Discussions (Offers weekly movies on topics dealing with Poverty, Racism, African history, Healthcare, Crime and many more.)

BEHIND THE WALLS

Prison Law Office Seeks To Protect Inmates

(San Quentin, Calif.) - The Prison Law Office is a foundation-supported, tax-exempt program which seeks to protect the rights of prisoners and improve their condition through the law.

Located immediately outside the walls of San Quentin, the goal of the Prison Law Office is to meet the demand for legal assistance for the range of problems encountered by the San Quentin prisoner.

The Prison Law Office is also designed as a model for the establishment of other such offices at the various California prisons. It is the only office in California with attorney staff that has ever focused on the legal needs of prisoners at a single institution.

Among the activities pursued by the Prison Law Office to achieve its goals are the following:

1) Engages in litigation on behalf of San Quentin prisoners. Litigation conducted by the Office includes cases relating to the rights of prisoners to marry, to engage in business, to have personal visits, and to have speedy disciplinary hearings; the manner in which the new determinate sentencing law applies to parole violators; the legitimacy of a parole rescission action against a San Quentin prisoner; and the manner in which the rules and regulations of the Department of Corrections are adopted.

2) Advises and assists prisoners with their legal problems which do not require court action. Over 700 prisoners have contacted the office for its assistance since its inception in January, 1976.

3) Attends public hearings and provides written comments on the proposed rules of the Department of Corrections.

4) Trains law students in the rendering of legal aid to prisoners.

5) Provides assistance in major prison reform litigation and individual cases conducted by other attorneys.

6) Supervises the "In-House Counsel" Program (jailhouse lawyer program) which it established so that prisoners could handle routine legal cases.

N.Y.C. SCHOOL BATTLE RAGES

OAKLAND BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM UNDER FIRE

(Oakland, Calif.) - Some 250 angry members of the Spanish-speaking community here last week charged the Oakland Board of Education with failing to carry out the local school district's stated commitment toward bilingual education.

Parents, teachers and students attended the special November 22 meeting of the Board of Education and the Comite Educativo y Reforma, a Spanish-speaking community organization of parents and teachers.

"You have been elected to solve these problems," Josephine Jimenez, a coordinator of the Comite, told the assembled Board members. "We cannot wait for you with our fingers crossed to see if these problems will disappear. We have come to help you," she added.

Concern about the quality of bilingual education in Oakland public schools came just two weeks after the results of statewide standardized tests for elementary and high school students showed Oakland scores to be among the lowest in the state and the nation. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, November 19, 1977.)



BERNARDO PARDAVENES and JOSEPHINE JIMENEZ demand improvements in bilingual education at a special November 22 Oakland Board of Education meeting.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Comite made several recommendations to the Board, including the creation of a task force to help plan and monitor the bilingual program; full-time bilingual aides and staff; more bilingual materials; creation of a bilingual-bicultural office; and the appointment of an associate superintendent for the bilingual education program.

Oakland public school children who do not speak English have an extremely high dropout rate, the *Oakland Tribune* reports. Explaining the dilemma of Spanish-speaking students, George Pinto, a parent, said:

"These children must cope in a system where they must read and write in English before they have acquired the skills of listening and speaking in English."

One former Oakland student, whose children now attend local schools, described his experiences in the public schools.

"I was not a student but a victim of your schools," said San Juan Martinez, a former Oakland student and now a parent with children going to Oakland schools. "My older brothers attended Oakland schools but were continually punished for speaking Spanish in the classroom, the halls and the school yard. Before I started school, I was terrified.

"When I was nine, I went to Colorado to visit my dying grandmother. She spoke to me in Spanish but by that time, I was unable to speak or understand what she was saying. That is a scar I will always carry with me," he added.

"Your schools robbed me of my language, but not my spirit," Martinez added.

"It is important for this board to know one thing — that the children who go to school come from rich cultures, backgrounds and family structures.

"There is no way this public school will treat my children like they treated me or my brothers in the past," Martinez said.

The Board of Education agreed to study the recommendations of the Comite and work to develop a plan and establish a task force to monitor the bilingual education program.

Meanwhile, in New York City, parents and leaders in the Spanish-speaking community and the state board of education are locked in a battle over the city's three-year-old, court-ordered bilingual education program.

Some 537 of the city's 931 schools offer the program, in which a total of 61,190 Spanish-speaking students are currently enrolled.

The board of education cited the bilingual program as one of the causes of racial segregation in New York City public school classrooms.

In a formal response to federal charges that the city school system is operating nearly 3,800 illegally segregated classes, the local school board said the segregation was the result of the court order and not segregation, the *New York Times* reports.

Aspira, an educational organization dedicated to obtaining the rights of the Puerto Rican community, filed its second contempt-of-court proceedings against the board of education last January, charging that the timetable of the original 1974 decree establishing the program had been violated. □

Petition Drive Mounts To Free Puerto Rican Nationalists

(New York, N.Y.) - A major petition drive has recently been launched demanding that President Carter grant the "unconditional" release of Puerto Rican nationalists Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irvin Flores — the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

A delegation will go to the nation's capital to present the petitions — being circulated by the U.S. Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists — to Carter shortly before Christmas.

Collazo, Lebron, Miranda, Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero — who is suffering from terminal cancer and was released for "humanitarian reasons" by President Carter on October 6 after doctors gave him only two months to live — became involved at an early age in the Puerto Rican independence movement spearheaded by the Nationalist Party.

Since the mid-thirties, the Nationalist Party was subjected to continuous attack by the U.S government, including arrests, jailings, and assassinations of its leaders and members. By 1950, during the term of President Truman, the repressive climate reached a peak, and open rebellion broke out in Puerto Rico on October 30.

On November 1, after the putdown of the uprising, Collazo attacked the residence of President Truman with Griselio Torresola, another Puerto Rican who was killed by Secret Service agents.

On March 1, 1954, Ms. Lebron, Miranda, Flores and Cordero stage an armed attack on the U.S. Congress, wounding four Congessmen seated in the House of Representatives chambers.

Collazo received a death sentence later commuted to life imprisonment. Ms. Lebron was sentenced to 16 to 50 years, and the others received 25 to 75-year prison terms.

The four remaining nationalists are demanding "unconditional" release. They will not accept the condition that they will no longer be involved in the struggle for Puerto Rican independence in order to obtain parole.

For more information, or to return completed petitions, contact U.S. Committee, 80 Fifth Avenue, Room 1204, New York, New York 10011.□



Protesters in recent demonstration in Washington, D.C., demand the release of Puerto Rican nationals being held as political prisoners.

Model In Action

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

used in the English language. Syntax is the arrangements of these words and groups of words into sentences that follow the contemporary order, rhythm and logic of the language.

•*Language Mechanisms* — This area involves punctuation, capitalization and abbreviations — those parts of the written language that facilitate reading and comprehension.

•*Vocabulary and Spelling* — Vocabulary involves the words in the language and knowledge of the many ways these words are used to express various concepts and ideas. Spelling is the specific arrangement of letters in each word.

•*Reading and Comprehension* —Reading is the method of comprehending written language. A functional knowledge of reading is the ability to interpret the written words into the idea intended by the writer.

•*Literature: Prose and Poetry* — Prose includes essays, novels, newspaper articles and other material written in an variety of styles to express ideas, feelings and observations. The study of



OCS primary skills students practice writing.

African, North American, European and other ethnic prose writings is provided at the OCS to broaden the children's understanding of the use of language and differing cultural attitudes.

Poetry is the form of language expression written or spoken in measured patterns (meter) of regulated sound (rhythm).

•*Speech* — Ability to speak the language correctly not only enhances reading and writing, but, more importantly, helps one to say exactly what one means.

•Handwriting — The ability to reproduce the written symbols of the language is a vital part of communication.

•*Library and Reference Skills* — This area involves knowledge of what materials are available in a library and the system used to store and locate these materials.

It is not uncommon to encounter an adult in the Black or poor community who has never learned to read or write, skills tied not only to economic survival but to one's overall ability to communicate.

Consequently, reading and handwriting are both emphasized at the OCS. Children are assigned to a reading program that is geared to their individual needs. They are regularly evaluated in silent and oral reading comprehension skills to determine their reading level and any special problems they may have.

The children are also required to write in uniform manuscript and cursive handwriting styles.

While many words and phrases in standard English are foreign to Black and poor children, at the OCS the emphasis is that the language is a tool that human beings must use in order to live. **TO BE CONTINUED**

I.Q. Tests

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Prior to his testimony, William Harris, a Black Public Advocates attorney, explained why Riles was called:

"He knows a lot about testing and how it works. We feel the evidence is overwhelming that the tests do put minorities at a disadvantage and we can't understand why he's unwilling to accept that.

"We don't feel on the whole that he disagrees with us. The real disagreement comes on whether or not you take away the I.Q. tests and whether you break a very strong financial tie that exists between the testing industry and educators of this state.

"We find a lot of very strange conflicts with Wilson Riles. He's on the board of directors of one of the largest testing companies, American College Testing Co.

"He's a primary defendant and we feel that probably a directive from his office could have given some quick solutions to the problem we're litigating here."

The day after Riles' testimony a member of the state Board of Education took the stand to dispute his view that poverty is one factor contributing to low I.Q. scores.

Lorenza Schmidt, associate dean of students at the University of California at Irvine said:

"I totally disagree that poverty, resulting in a particular health need, automatically causes or leads to the justification of a large number of Blacks in EMR classes.

". . .I come from a very poor family, poor pre-natal care, poor post-natal care, nine children to one mother, very poor nutrition and I got very bad teeth out of the deal."

"You don't think that affected your mental ability though?" Menocal asked.

"No, it did not," Ms. Schmidt said adding that she disagreed with the approach the state board is taking on that point.□

Uptown Community Learning Center

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many before thought was impossible: a college education and a college degree.

As in all of the other ISC survival programs, we intend not only to meet a concrete need for service but to prove to ourselves that our people can do whatever anyone else can do, if given the chance. Once the program at the Learning Center has shown that people written off by the system as "unemployable" and "uneducable" can accomplish great things given equal opportunity, then we feel the people themselves will take up the program and expand it beyond our wildest imagination.

Then they will fight to force the system to give them the education and jobs they have a right to or they will change the system so that it will. That was really the purpose of the Learning Center.

Q: Could you describe the program offered at the Learning Center?

COLEMAN: Certainly. We offer concentrations in computer science, electronics, business and accounting, secretarial science, urban science and services and health science. Students may earn either the A.A. degree (a two-year degree) or the regular four-year B.A. or B.S. degree. While a



Students in graphic arts class at the Uptown Community Learning Center examine photographs.

high school diploma is not required for enrollment, we are looking for people who are serious and willing to stick through until they get what they want. So naturally a lot of work is done on basic reading comprehension and writing skills.

However, it is a principle we hold to that students can begin right away in some course that introduces them to the area they want to go into and the skills required for that area. Other basic learning skills courses are structured to help students fill in the background they need in their main courses as they go along.

The program offered at the Learning Center is both traditional and non-traditional. It is traditional in the sense that students receive training according to standards that will qualify them at a level equal to students graduating from any college. It is non-traditional in the sense that the school is shaped around the needs of the students and around life in the poor and oppressed community.

One other aspect of the program is that through a carefully worked out process of evaluation students can earn credits for their life experience, thus cutting short the time they have to spend in order to earn degree qualifications.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

Huey P. Newton

"Fallen Comrade"

We begin a new chapter, "Fallen Comrade," in which Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton describes one of the most courageous and determined revolutionists to ever be a member of the Party, Fallen Comrade George Jackson.

The Black Panther is our brother and son, the one who wasn't afraid.
George Jackson, *Soledad Brother*

George Jackson had genius. Genuis is rare enough and should be treasured, but when genius is combined in a Black man with revolutionary passion and vision, the Establishment will cut him down. Comrade Jackson understood this. He knew his days were numbered and was prepared to die as a true believer in revolutionary suicide. For eleven years he insisted on remaining free in a brutal prison system.

All along he resisted the authorities and encouraged his brothers in prison to join him. The state retaliated: parole was continually refused; solitary confinement was imposed on him for seven years; threats on his life were frequent — from guards, from inmates who called themselves "Hitler's Helpers," from "knife thrusts and pick handles of faceless sadistic pigs." And finally they murdered him.

In the months before his death everything began to close in. He was one of the few prisoners who was shackled and heavily guarded for his infrequent trips to the visitors' room. Attempts on his life became almost daily occurrences. But he never gave in or retreated. Prison was the crucible that shaped his spirit, and George often used the words of Ho Chi Minh to describe his resistance: "Calamity has hardened me and turned my mind to steel."

I knew him like a brother. At first, I knew him only spiritually, through his writing and his legend in the prison system, when I was at the Penal Coloy and he was at Soledad. Then, not long after my arrival, I received through the prison grapevine a request from George to join the Black Panther Party. It was readily granted. George was made a member of the People's Revolutionary Army, with the rank of General and Field Marshal.

For the next three years we were in constant communication by means of messages carried by friends and lawyers and inmates transferred from one prison to another. Despite the restrictions of the prison system, we managed to transmit our messages on paper and on tapes. Among George's contributions to the Party were articles he wrote for *The Black Panther* newspaper, which furthered our revolutionary theory and provided inspiration for all the brothers. In February, 1971, I received this letter from him:

Comrade Huey,

Things are quiet here now, tonight we have discipline and accord, tomorrow all may fly apart again — but that's us.

I have two articles that I would like to be put in the paper, one following the other by a week. The one on Angela first. Then if you approve, I would like to contribute something to the paper every week or whenever you have space for me.

If yes, let me know if there is any area in particular you would like me to cover (comment on).

Then do I comment as observer or participant?

One favor — please don't let anyone delete the things I say or change them around. Idon't need an editor, unless what I say is not representative of the Party Line, don't let anyone change a word. When I make an ideological error of course correct it to fit the party's position. And don't let them shorten or condense; if something is too long — part two it.

If you want to use me to say nasty things about those who deserve it, it may be best for me to comment as an observer, that way less contradictions between yourself and people you may have to work with.



HUEY P. NEWTON

You told [name omitted] that you and I had a "misunderstanding" once but that it was cleared up. When was it that we misunderstood each other?

Be very careful ot messages or any word that has supposed to have come from me. I really don't recall any misunderstanding.

People lie for many reasons.

Try to memorize my handwriting, that is how all messages will come in the future (if we have a future).

Did you know that Angela and I were married a while back? And I had almost pulled her all the way into our camp, just before Eldridge made that statement?

I had done so well in fact that C.P. tried to cut our contacts, attacked my sanity in little whispers and looks in conversing with her, and cut off my paid subscription to their two newspapers.

Strange, that they would be afraid of the F.B.I., and not afraid of the Cat. Perhaps they've reached an understanding. Some of them anyway.

Is [name omitted] C.P.? Man, whats happening with her., She has no control at all of her mouth. Or ego.

Arrange for a good contact or write and seal messages with a thumbprint. I have ideas I'd like to leave with you all.

Thanks Brother for helping us. Beautiful, hard, disciplined brothers in here, I'd like to deliver them to you someday.

George.

In the last three years of his life Comrade Jackson felt sustained and supported by the Black Panther Party. He had struggled alone for so long is raise the consciousness of Black inmates, and his example encouraged thousands who were weaker and less intrepid than he. But the price he paid in alienation and reprisals was fearsome.

Within the Party he was no longer alone; he became part of a burgeoning and invincible revolutionary liberation movement. In his second book, *Blood in My Eye*, he expressed this faith: "The Black Panther Party is the largest and most powerful political force existing outside establishment politics. It draws this power from the people. It is the people's natural, political vanguard."

George asked the Party to publish his first book, *Soledad Brother*, but in the difficult negotiations between go-betweens and without direct contact, the arrangements fell through. To make sure this mistake would never happen again, he left his estate and all his writings to the Party. More important, he bequeathed us his spirit and his love.

TO BE CONTINUED

2,000 Delegates Attend Federally - Funded Convention

MINORITY RIGHTS, E.R.A. APPROVED AT HOUSTON WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

(Houston, Tex.) - Support for minority rights, abortion on demand, civil rights for lesbians and passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) were overwhelmingly endorsed by the first National Women's Conference held here last week.

Attended by a broad spectrum of 2,000 American women — Blacks, Whites, Chicanos, Native Americans, teenagers, middle-aged, elderly, poor, middle class and rich — the five million dollar, federally sponsored conference concluded with the demand that President Carter name a national commission to carry out the meeting's recommendations.

Interestingly, the only issue defeated by the predominantly pro-feminist conference was a proposal to create a federal women's department and make its head a Cabinet member. While supporters of the proposal maintained that it would help push new programs and laws through, opponents said it would be a step backward, causing the "ghetto-ization" of the women's movement and disunity among women in general.

Progressive former New York Congresswoman Bella Abzug presided over the three-day meeting, whose delegates ranged in age from 16 to 85. Ms. Abzug, head of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year — which proposed the creation of a Cabinet-level women's department — said that the historic meeting "will give many other countries the courage to move ahead in the field of human rights."

EMOTIONAL DEMONSTRATION

An emotional floor demonstration followed the vote on the resolution supporting minority rights, with nearly all of the delegates joining hands to sing "We Shall Not Be Overcome."

The minority resolution, proposed by a coalition of ethnic groups, declared that minority women suffer discrimination based on race and sex. "Every level of government should recognize and remedy this double discrimination," the resolution said.

A noisy, joyful celebration was touched off following the endorsement of the ERA Amendment. The embattled proposal must be ratified by three more states before it can become the 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Conference delegates pledged to mount an intensive nationwide campaign to secure passage of the ERA during 1978.

Conservative women's forces at the conference protested when the pro-abortion and civil rights for lesbians resolutions were passed but were overwhelmed by the shouts and cheers of delegates who supported the resolutions.

The abortion resolution calls for pro-abortion laws and family planning in addition to federal financing of abortion for the poor and sex educaton in the schools.

The lesbian rights resolution brought about the most bitter debate during the conference. One delegate from Florida insisted, "It [lesbian rights] is against the laws of God." Another woman, part of the Oklahoma delegation, said lesbians could avoid "a stoning or burning at the stake" if they would keep their sexual preferences secret — "like adulterers and adultresses."



Scene from the National Women's Conference in Houston, Texas. Delegates are shown celebrating passage of a resolution endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique* which is widely believed to have launched the modern American women's movement, and a longtime opponent of lesbian rights as a feminist issue, gave a surprisingly strong endorsement of the resolution.

"This issue has divided us too long. I believe we should help the lesbians be protected in their civil rights."

Among the other resolutions adopted by the National Women's Conference were:

•Battered women: Congress should establish a national clearinghouse for information and for financial and technical aid to local public and private institutions providing help for battered women and children.

•Business: The President should require opportunities for female entrepreneurs in government procurement, small business loans and federal contracting.

•Child abuse: The government should continue financing for treatment of abused children and states should provide additional services.

•Child care: The federal government should assume a major role in providing "comprehensive, voluntary, flexible-hour, bias-free, non-sexist quality child care."

•Credit: The federal government should vigorously enforce the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974.

•Disabled women: Laws that affect lives of disabled women should be enforced and new laws should be enacted to provide higher income levels so that the disabled may live more independently.

•Education: The President should direct vigorous enforcement of laws prohibiting discrimination in education, and state school systems should eliminate sex stereotyping by reviewing books and providing special training of teachers.

•Elective and appointive office: The President, governors, political parties and other groups should work to increase the number of women in elective and appointive offices with a goal of equal membership by 1985 on all state boards and commissions.

•Employment: The President and Congress should support full employment and vigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination laws and employment, which should be extended to government workers. Veterans should get preference in government hiring only once.

•Health: Federal legislation should be passed to establish a national health security program and to expand the authority of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. States should enact a patient's bill of rights.

•Homemakers: Federal and state governments should base their laws relating to marital property, inheritance and domestic relations to recognize the contribution of each spouse.

•Offenders: States should reform their sentencing laws and practices to eliminate discrimination in the treatment of women in penal institutions.

•Rape: Laws should be reformed to apply to both sexes, to create graduated degrees of the crime based on the amount of force or coercion involved and to specify that past sexual conduct of defendants cannot be introduced into evidence.

•Rural women: The President should appoint a joint committee from the departments of Labor, Agriculture and Justice to investigate the conditions of all seasonal and migratory workers, especially on the Louisiana sugar plantations.

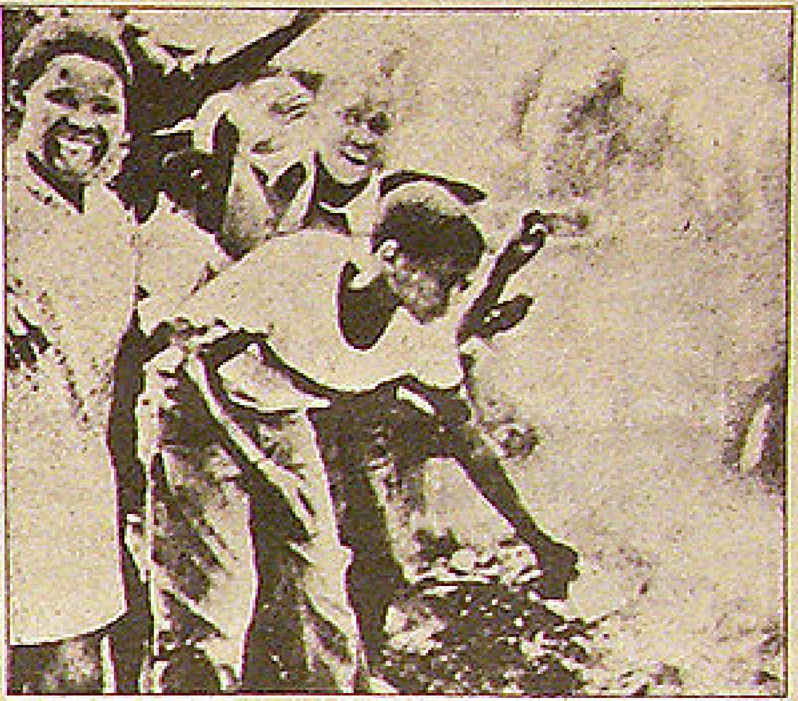
•Women, welfare and poverty: All welfare reform proposals should be examined specifically for their impact on women. □

Exclusive Interview With Thami Mhlambiso

A.N.C. REPRESENTATIVE: "WE WILL WIN IN SOUTH AFRICA"

Numerous organizations in South Africa are united in the struggle to obtain Black majority rule, among them the African National Congress (ANC), which was formed in the early part of the 20th century. Below, THE BLACK PANTHER presents excerpts from an exclusive interview with Thami Mhlambiso, a veteran ANC activist, who, like David Sibeko of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania — a longtime friend of the Black Panther Party — serves as his organization's chief representative to the United Nations and North America.





THAMI MHLAMBISO, U.N. representative for the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, visited the offices of THE BLACK PANTHER last week.

QUESTION: What stage has the South African liberation struggle reached?

MHLAMBISO: The struggle in South Africa has reached an important phase. Every time there is repression, the level of consciousness of our people is raised, and political activity against the apartheid regime is increased. Let me explain what I'm saying.

During the Sharpeville incident [March, 1960], 69 defenseless men, women and children were murdered by the South African police. After that, the political organizations of the people — the ANC, the Youth League of the ANC, the Congress of the Democrats in South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania and others were outlawed and started to work underground.

At that time many people were arrested because we were still beginning to learn how to work underground; we were mobilizing our forces for armed struggle. It took a long time to respond to the violence of the police. It was quiet for many years, but in June, 1976, the students came out in a demonstration.

To the surprise and amazement of the illegitimate regime in South Africa, the students came out fighting with sticks, stones and any kind of weapon they could lay their hands on. They didn't do that at Sharpeville, thus there has been a qualitative change in the method of struggle between 1960 and the Soweto struggle of 1976. It took us 16 years to prepare an underground movement whereby we can answer police violence with disciplined, revolutionary violence.

Then came Steve Biko. Steve Biko was part of the student movement, including the South African Students Organization (SASO), the South African Students Movement (SASM), the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) — all commonly known as the Black Consciousness Movement.

These students and young people worked with the community, and were involved in community programs which helped to heighten the level of consciousness that has helped our people become self-reliant. This was an important measure.

Then the police in South Africa, in typical fascist fashion, must of course cut down someone showing a potential politicy. Steve Biko happened to be one of those people although there have been many political detainees who have been murdered in their prison cells by the South African political police.

There is the case of Joseph Mdlului who was kidnapped from Swaziland, brought into South Africa and in a matter of days after detention was murdered. There is the case of George Botha from Port Elizabeth who died under similar circumstances. There is the case of Dr. Haffigy who also died in detention. There is the case of a 16-year-old young man who also died in detention, and many others.

We are waging the struggle on all fronts. It's qualitatively different than what it was in 1960 in that now it has reached a higher stage. We do not say that we have reached a final stage, for the major confrontation is still to come. But we are at an important level in our struggle.

We learned from the experience of the Black Panther Party here, that we had to build a level of consciousness among the people who were involved in community programs which were important and captured the attention of the people. You started to mobilize people for direct action in this country, and you are still doing that.

The major confrontation has not yet come, therefore, when we look at Steve Biko, we cannot but help think of our dear brother George Jackson. When we think of Joseph Mdului we can't help but think of our dear brother Fred Hampton, Jonathan Jackson and many of the other heroes of the Black Panther Party. These are your heroes and they are our heroes. We believe that the Mduluis and the Bikos are your heroes as well because we have a common struggle against a common enemy.

Today, our brother Huey P. Newton is being persecuted, hounded and framed. So is the case with Winnie Mandela in South Africa. This is a woman under torment. She's being harassed left, right and center by the South African police. There are similarities in our struggles, and there is a common bond between us in South Africa and our comrades in the United States.

We feel that the Black Panther Party has a very important role to play in building this common bond of unity between the oppressed in the U.S. and in South Africa. When we testify to racism in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town, you can equally testify to racism in Oakland, Berkeley, Los Angeles, South Carolina and South Boston. These are measures which bring us together. That is why at this moment when our people are involved in an important struggle, the trial of Huey P. Newton is an important one. We wish him all the luck and the success so that he can continue to play his rightful role as leader of the Black Panther Party.

Q: What can Black people and other progressive people in the U.S. do to help the liberation struggle in South Africa?

MHLAMBISO: First of all, many of the coin stores, the leading of which is Merrill-Lynch, are selling the kruggerand. This is a gold coin minted in South Africa, the gold coming from South African mines. The South Africa economy is in bad shape these days, and the government thought that one of the ways to raise funds to meet its military budget would be to sell the kruggerand and military bonds.

We are saying that our brothers and sisters in the progressive movement in this country must begin to wage a battle to stop the kruggerand from being sold in their areas. Also, a strong protest against the sale of the kruggerand must be made to the Carter administration and Congress.

We think that the progressive movement in this country should urge people to withdraw their accounts from banks that do business with South Africa because these banks have extended loans to South Africa loans which help to build the military power of the South African regime.

Most significantly, however, in order to fight racism in South Africa, every one in the progressive movement in the U.S. must fight racism wherever they are. In the U.S., we must fight to have the Bakke decision overturned and support every other effort to bring an end to racial discrimination in this country. In doing so, we are helping the struggle in South Africa, for we are waging a common struggle against a common enemy. Your oppressor here is our oppressor in South Africa, and it is about time we forged links of solidarity between struggling people in this country and South Africa. □

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

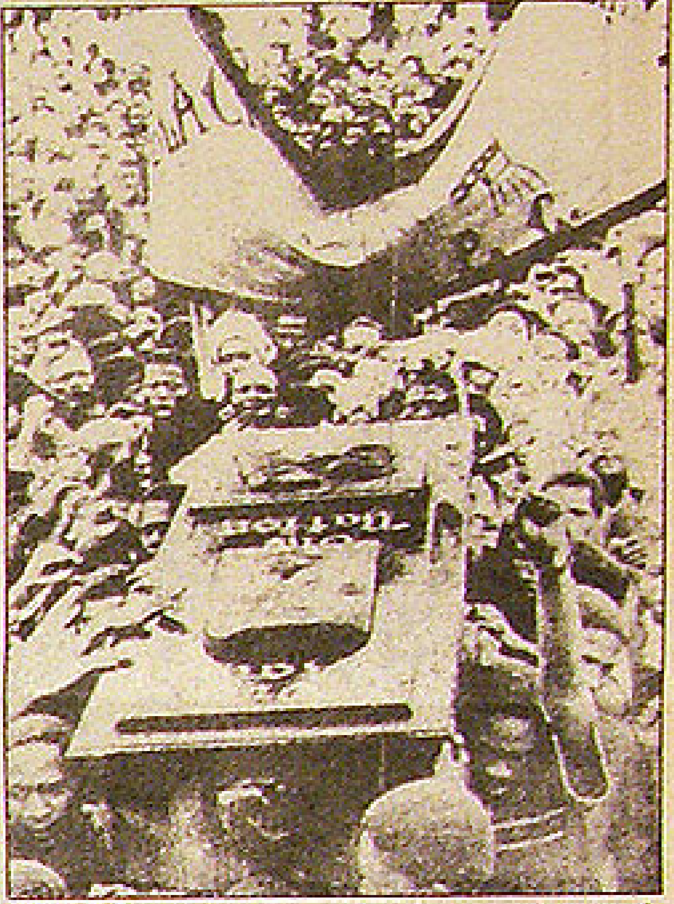
10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, when ever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

DOCTORS TESTIFY AT INQUEST

POLICE REFUSED TO HOSPITALIZE STEVE BIKO



Mourners carry the casket of slain Black activist STEVE BIKO following his brutal murder in a South African prison.

(Pretoria, South Africa) - Despite his serious injuries, South African police refused to allow Steve Biko to be hospitalized, a doctor testified last week at the inquest of the martyred Azanian activist.

The inconsistencies surrounding Biko's death were further complicated by the testimony of two pathologists who provided contradictory theories as to how the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) founder sustained his fatal head injuries.

In other developments last week, police opened fire at the funeral of an 18-year-old Black activist who allegedly hung himself to death in jail on November 18. Two Black youth were injured at the funeral of Bonaventura Sipho Malaza, attended by some 8,000 people in Kaigiso "township" near Krugersdorp, 20 miles west of Johannesburg.

Dr. Ivor Lang, district surgeon in Port Elizabeth where Biko was imprisoned until the night of September 11, the day before his death, supervised Biko's medical examination throughout the last week of his life. Lang said that he wanted to have the Black leader transferred to a local hospital for observation for possible brain damage but was forbidden by police to do so.

"And you can't buck the Security Branch?" asked Sydney W. Kentridge, prominent White attorney serving as counsel for the Biko family at the inquest.

"No," replied Lang, the first of five doctors in the case to take the stand.

Lang, a government employee, explained that he recommended that Biko be transferred from prison to a Port Elizabeth hospital after examinations showed the revered activist had numerous symptoms of brain damage, among them blood-stained brain fluid, slurred speech and echolalia. The latter is a condition in which a patient repeats words and phrases asked of the individual as questions without giving a meaningful response.

Colonel Pieter J. Goosen, chief of the Port Elizabeth branch of the security police, denied the doctor's request on the alleged grounds that Biko was "a security risk," Lang testified.

Kentridge has maintained throughout the inquest, now in its third week, that the police refused to hospitalize Biko in order to cover-up the brutal beating he had received by his White interrogators.

Claiming that all he could do was "make the best of the situation," Lang said that following Goosen's refusal, he had

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"SUGAR-COATED POISON"

Patriotic Front Rejects Smith's "One Man, One Vote" Plan

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - The Patriotic Front last week denounced as "political gimmickry" and "sugar-coated poison" Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith's announcement that he would agree to "one man, one vote" elections in the breakaway British colony.

Meanwhile, Radio Mozambique announced that Rhodesian forces, supported by helicopter gunships and Mirage jet fighters, had launched their largest attack ever against the former Portuguese colony, one of the five frontline states in southern Africa that is backing the Patriotic Front's armed struggle against the Smith regime.

Smith's "concession" of universal adult suffrage in Rhodesian elections that would lead to the establishment of Black majority rule was made public at a press conference held on November 24 in Bulawayo, the country's second largest city located near the border with Botswana.

Three men, whom Smith described as "Black leaders," convinced him "without exception that the only way of

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Angola recently celebrated its second year of independence, but the young, progressive country still faces enormous difficulties.

ANGOLA CELEBRATES 2nd INDEPENDENCE DAY

(Luanda, Angola) - Angola celebrated its second year of independence this month and looks confidently toward the future.

The government of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), led by President Agostinho Neto, has survived enormous difficulties since this country of six million gained independence after 500 years of Portuguese colonialism.

Many of these difficulties still remain, of course. Neocolonial forces backed by South Africa, Zaire and U.S. imperialism still continue their sabotage. The national economy has not yet recovered from the ruins of war and the centuries of colonial exploitation. There are many shortages of essential goods.

But these problems pale in comparison to those already confronted and overcome — from the decade-long armed struggle for liberation, resulting in a pullout by the Portuguese November 11, 1975, to the second war of liberation against the neocolonial forces spearheaded by South African invaders, to the extraordinary lack of basic social services for the masses of people in health, education, employment, housing and the like.

When the MPLA, backed by the popular masses, assumed command in Luanda there was a good chance that this fledgling country would be overwhelmed by the complexity and weight of its various military, economic, political and social burdens.

"But now it is clear that the Angolan people have stood up, are learning from their successes and failures and are united in their determination to preserve their independence, overcome the remaining difficulties and construct a new society based on socialism and equality," *Guardian* correspondent Sara Rodriques comments.

In a firm and confident message to the people November 11, President Neto summarized the present period in these words:

"This second year of independence served to test our

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Protest Marcos' Death Penalties

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Over 100 people marched in San Francisco last week in protest over death sentences given to Filipino political prisoners by the Marcos regime. (See World Scope, page 20.)

BPINS photos

Africa In Focus

South Africa

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Six Blacks and 10 Whites received minor injuries last week when a bomb exploded in an underground shopping mall in the heart of this industrial city. The bomb, which went off outside a travel agent's office in Carlton Center, shattered the windows of some 20 shops in the center, which includes a 50-story office building, a 30-story hotel, in addition to the mall. It was the second bombing in a year at the expensive shopping center. Last December, a young Black man lost an arm when a bomb went off in his hand as he walked into a beer hall near the scene of last week's explosion.

Meanwhile, in East London, the five-year-old daughter of banned White newspaper editor Donald Woods received medical treatment for acid burns she sustained after putting on a chemically saturated Steve Biko T-shirt sent in an anonymous package to her home. Mary Woods, the youngest of Woods' five children, began screaming that something was burning her eyes immediately after she put on the smallest of the two T-shirts sent to the Woods home as alleged gifts for the children. The child suffered no permanent damage, a doctor said. Woods, an outspoken anti-government White who formerly edited the *East London Daily Dispatch*, was banned along with his newspaper on October 19 as part of the apartheid regime's massive crackdown on Black and other opposition forces.

Ties between the South African government and the Carter administration were further strengthened last week when the American Chamber of Commerce opened a South African chapter in Johannesburg with the "full knowledge" of the White House. John L. Caldwell, head of the international division of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, said at the inauguration ceremonies of the South African chapter, that while the Carter administration has taken a "particular stand" on the apartheid regime's "political policy," "Our efforts to get this chamber started have been known about and I came here with the full knowledge of the [Carter] administration."

East Timor Celebrates Independence—U.N. Committee Condemns Indonesia

(Democratic Republic of East Timor) - This small Southeast Asian country last week celebrated its second year of independence from Portugal.

On November 28, 1975, the Democratic Republic of East Timor, led by the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor FRETILIN), declared its independence after waging an heroic struggle to overthrow centuries-old Portuguese colonialism.

Almost immediately, Indonesia invaded the new republic in an attempt to annex it by force.

In this regard, the U.N.'s Decolonization Committee recently sponsored a resolution adopted by the General Assembly reaffirming the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination and rejected Indonesia's attempt to claim the former Portuguese colony, with a population of 600,000, as its 27th province.

The world body voted to dispatch a delegation to East

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

MOUNTIE SPY SCANDAL CONTINUES

C.I.A. LINKS WITH CANADIAN POLICE SURFACE, "DIRTY TRICKS" EXPOSED

(Toronto, Canada) - Major new revelations continued to surface last week in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) spy scandal with disclosures of close links between the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Mounties emerging.

The nationally circulated and influential Toronto newspaper the *Globe and Mail* listed CIA connections with Canada among eight featured articles on the RCMP and security affairs in one edition of last week's issues.

The paper reported that the CIA had given training in intelligence techniques, including covert mail interception, to members of the Mounties, the Canadian armed forces and other departments of the government, including the Foreign Office.

In a related development, the government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau has acknowledged the existence of a highly secret RCMP file, Operation Featherbed. The government, however, has refused to reveal its contents — reputed to contain a collection of dossiers gathered in the wake of the "red scare" in the United States during the McCarthy era with intimate information on senior government officials allegedly suspected of espionage.

S — Portrait of a Spy, RCMP Intelligence, the Inside Story by



Protest against the illegal tactics of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Toronto writer Ian Adams, claims to give a close-up story of spy operations here, with what are to be thinly disguised characters based on actual persons.

The Mounties have been under fire in Parliament during the past month, and are the subject of a judicial investigation in Montreal and pending scrutiny by a federal commission in Ottawa.

The 1972 break-in of a left-wing news agency in Montreal was the first of the Mounties' "dirty tricks" to be exposed. Trudeau maintained at the time that the break-in was an isolated illegal incident.

When the Quebec government set up its own inquiry, the prime minister's cabinet members were forced to admit other illegal acts.

The most violent act was the burning of a Quebec farm to prevent a meeting of Quebec radicals and the Oakland-based Black Panther Party, which was revealed in testimony at the Quebec inquiry. The arsonist belonged to a small handpicked group known as "G-4," whose activities were known only to a few higher-ups in the Mounties' hierarchy.

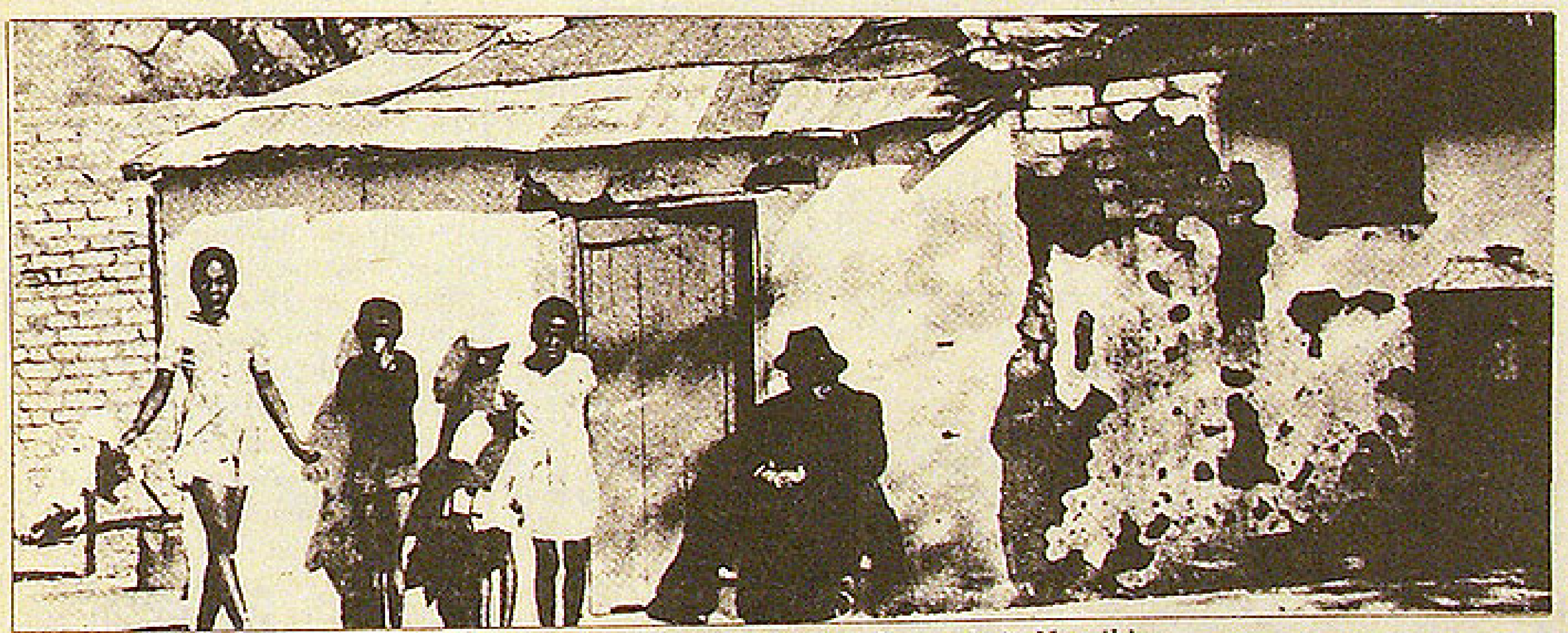
Allegations now being probed include illegally tampering with private mail, obtaining confidential tax and medical files, and infiltrating political parties and other organizations in security and intelligence.

The federal government moved last week to halt the Quebec inquiry, claiming the publicity is harmful to national security. It asked the Quebec Superior Court to declare the hearings un-constitutional, drawing new charges of a cover-up from Parliament.

In a token gesture, the government announced new measures aimed at preventing the Mountie security unit from breaking the law in its daily surveillance operations. Fox told the House of Commons' Justice Committee that three watchdog panels would be set up, including an audit unit to examine all Security Service activities.

In a lead, front-page story, the *Globe and Mail's* Washington correspondent, John Picton, quoted former CIA officer Victor Marchetti, co-author of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* as saying that the Canadian government had submitted secret court testimony supporting the agency's unsuccessful legal effort to prevent the book's publication. Marchetti was quoted by Picton as saying that Canada was concerned that disclosure of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



Squalid living conditions of Black people in Namibia.

Namibia Contract Labor System Condemned

(New York, N.Y.) - "There's no one thing that's worst about it," the Rev. James H. Kauluma, recently elected Anglican bishop of Namibia, told the *Guardian*. "It's the whole system — that you can't do the work you want to, you're not paid for your sweat, you are not free."

Kauluma, in a New York City interview earlier this month, talked about the contract labor system of near-slavery imposed on Namibians by the occupation forces of South Africa. He spoke with quiet authority on the subject as, in his words, "one who has worked under contract."

Contract labor is the apartheid regime's main device for extracting profits and the foundation on which the huge mining fortunes of South Africa have been built — fortunes that are largely controlled by British and U.S. interests.

The system requires a worker to sign a blank contract saying he will work for up to two years for whomever "buys" him at whatever job he is given.

In Namibia, the system provides extremely low-paid labor for the diamond and copper mines, the fishing industry, farming, karakúl sheep raising and much else, including White households.

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"How Soon We Forget"

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to be a judge and to sit down in the Federal Communications Commission, made it possible for me to sit down in the Peabody Hotels and the Statler Hiltons all over this nation, to eat these inch-thick steaks and have these hotel accommodations, to use the restrooms? How can I ever forget where I have been?

"Yet, the NAACP today is suffering from a lack of funds. We're constantly laying off people. In the great haven of California I see your state school board becoming more repressive. I see the Bakke case coming from this state. I see doors that we thought were open, closed in our faces. I would suggest to you that those of us who forget where we've come from are not really fit to march forward into the bright promises of tomorrow.

"Why is that we'll give a man a dollar to shine our shoes, $5 to cut our hair, $25 or $30 to fix our hair, tip the skycap $2, give the bellhop $5, go to conventions all over this nation and spend $50 for hotel rooms not big enough to turn around in, ride the airplanes, tip the cab driver, and yet, we forget all about the organization that made it possible for us to have these kinds of jobs, and claim we can't remember where it's located.

"The woods are dark and deep but I've got promises to keep and miles and miles to go before I sleep. How often White folk proudly say how good things are now, but we sometimes wonder where they were when we were out there getting hosed down



BENJAMIN HOOKS

with fire hoses, run down by dogs or collared in the neck with cattle prods.

"This whole business of 'reverse discrimination' is enough to turn your stomach. It makes me vomit every time somebody mentions it. We've got a lot of so-called lackey leaders who fall for reverse discrimination. Affirmative action is not now and never has been reverse discrimination. What it means is very simple.

"Twelve or 15 years ago every choice job in this country was reserved for White males. Women need not apply or Asian Americans. Blacks need not even ask for it. The board rooms of all our major corporations were completely lily White and male-dominated.

"This nation decided in the mid '60's that this was an intolerable condition, so Congress passed some laws that said everybody must be an equal opportunity employer.

"Then they wrote these beautiful affirmative action programs. Oh, they were marvelous. They would say, 'We've been to the Urban League, we've been to the NAACP, we've been to the Peter Jones Baptist Church and we just can't find any nigras qualified.'

"The highway patrol in Alabama was a classic case. Judge [Frank] Johnson said that there had to be some Black folk on the patrol. 'Judge, we're trying. You've got to understand, there ain't but a million nigras in the whole state of Alabama. The standards of our highway patrol are so high that we haven't found one.'

"In desperation and exasperation the judge finally said, 'All right. You can't find one? I'll tell you what I suggest to you. By August 1 of this year you will have 10 Blacks in the highway patrol or you will go to jail.' On July 31 they came back and said they had found 15."

TO BE CONTINUED

World Scope

Israel

(United Nations, New York) - The U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution last week condemning Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories. The resolution called for Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and an early reconvening of the Geneva peace talks — with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Philippines

(Manila, Philippines) A military court last week sentenced Bernabe Buscayno, accused of being the leader of the New People's Army (NPA) and Victor Corpus, a leading NPA member — and a former Philippine constabulary — to death by firing squad. The NPA along with the Moslem Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) are engaged in a fierce civil war with the tattering regime of President Ferdinand Marcos. Former Philippine Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr., a leading Marcos opponent, was also sentenced to death for subversion, and trumped-up charges of murder and possession of firearms.

None of the accused men presented any defense during the trial, the longest since Marcos declared martial law on September 23, 1972. Aquino said the military had no right to try him. He said the officers of the court, as junior officers to Marcos in his capacity as comander-in-chief of the Philippine armed forces, would return only the verdict Marcos wanted.

However, the panel denied a request from Buscayno to testify in his own behalf at the close of the trial.

Guam, Gilbraltar And Belize

(United Nations, New York) - The U.N.'s Decolonization Committee recently condemned "the presence of United States bases on Guam" which inhibit "their right to self-determination." Another resolution urged Spain and Great Britain to initiate negotiations with the people of Gibraltar to grant them complete independence. A resolution on Belize called on Great Britain to remove obstacles that prevent that territory's right to self-determination.

SOWETO'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD THEATER

BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN THEATER STRESSES "SURVIVAL"

(Soweto, South Africa) - It is a cool night in Johannesburg's African township. For three hours, director Sam Mhangwane's morality play, *Blame Yourself*, has kept hundreds of Black working people packed into Soweto's cavernous "Uncle Tom's Hall." Even the hardened "tsotsis" — the township's youthful gangs of muggers — are caught up in the drama of their own lives now exploding from the dim stage.

Except for a broken chair and table and a single actor, the stage is bare. Nearing the end of his rake's progress from church-going hypocrite to restless husband, womanizer and finally hopeless drunkard, "Paul" has not yet learned to "blame himself," to take personal responsibility for his circumstances.

Alone, now, he considers his past actions, especially his lies to his free-spending girlfriend, who walked out when she learned he was married. His torment fills the atmosphere of the darkened hall like the prelude to an electrical storm....

Something uncanny is happening. Almost imperceptibly, Paul has ceased talking to himself and shifted his address directly to the hushed spectators. In a hoarse growl wrenched from somewhere deep in his stomach, he shouts at us: "But I was right to lie to her, because if I didn't, I wouldn't have gotten what I wanted!"

The storm breaks. A deafening howl rises from the hall — hoots, jeers and cries in the township's several languages fill the air.

Suicide seems logical. Confronting a knife, Paul's courage fails him in a mime of terror, despair and a last grasp of life so palpable that we laugh, moving uneasily in our seats.

Throwing a rope over a door frame, he ties one end around his neck and clasps the other in his hands. As he steps from the fatal chair, his wife bursts in, grabs him by the knees, and they fall in a heap amidst the howling crowd of friends and relatives pouring in behind her. In the confusion, a voice from the gallery shouts in the Sotho language, "No! He's not really dead?"

On almost any night, one or another of Johannesburg's Black "township" halls is packed for the performance of a play like *Blame Yourself*, by leading dramatists such as Sam Mhangwane, Gibson Kente, Boikie Mohlamme or one of many newcomers now springing up after them. Without literary pretensions, often without written scripts, unashamedly melodramatic, they give hard-pressed African workers what they want in entertainment — without escapism, *Pacific News Service* correspondent David Coplan reports.



Black South African cast of Survival *portray the evils of apartheid in performance at Berkeley's Epic West Theatre.*

In 1963, Gibson Kente, a popular composer-arranger for such budding stars as Miriam Makeba, produced the first all-Black produced, directed and acted Johannesburg musical, *Manana the Jazz Prophet*, a story about an African preacher's attempt to attract disaffected youngsters by featuring jazz in church services. His next and greatest hit, *Sikalo*, in 1965, established him as a leading township showman, and the revolution in theater for the Black urban masses had begun.

Virtually all the plays present variations of the same themes: the importance of education, family loyalty and personal morality for the survival of the African community; African endurance in the face of the violence, crime, unjust laws, predatory police, heartless White officials and social dislocation endemic to township life.

Settings for character interaction and for the catharsis of song, dance and comic mime are also universally the same: the African "gospel" church, the "shebeen" (speakeasy), the "jiving" party, the funeral, the wedding, the streets.

Characters, too, are well known from daily life: the minister, the bumpkin in town, the thug, the grandparents, the student, the "nice-time" girl, the long-suffering wife. All of this is invariably backed by a big, swinging jazz band, belting out something for everyone in the way of township music, from hymns and folk-songs to African jazz and soul.

PROTEST?

Direct political protest is generally avoided. Perhaps the most outwardly political statement presented in genuine "township" style is *Give Us This Day* by the Reverend Mqina of Port Elizabeth — but both the play and its author were quickly banned.

Even so mild a question as "How long must we suffer?" can be enough to get performances banned and playwrights (such as Kente himself) jailed. For this reason, the "message" of such plays is often confined to the portrayal of suffering, calls to God for deliverance or at least an explanation, and prescriptions for a new urban African social and moral order to aid community survival.

It is not so much the themes and scenes but rather the mode of performance that gives men like Kente such a hold over popular preference and imagination. It is the endless variety of presentation, the improvisational, physical, satirical, strongly visual and musical tradition of performance — indigenous to Africa — that marks Soweto's contribution to world theater and the struggle for political and artistic self-determination everywhere.☐



African Cultural Festival, Feb. 24

(Oakland, Calif.) - At a press conference held here last Monday, it was announced that an African Cultural Festival will be presented at the Oakland Auditorium Arena here on February 24, 1978. A children's matinee performance will begin at 1:30 p.m. and an evening show is scheduled to start at 8:00 p.m.

The Festival will feature Ladzekpo's African Music and Dance Ensemble (from Ghana), HEDZOLEH SOUNDZ (above, from Ghana), Fua Dia Congo (from the Congo) and Biamano Coura (from Senegal). Prior to the Festival, on February 10, an African Food Reception, a food tasting event, will be held on the 22nd floor of the Clorox Building.

Contract Labor

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The largest labor contractor in the country is the U.S.-controlled Tsumeb Corp. (copper mines) owned 30 per cent by Amax Co. of New York, 30 per cent by Newmont Mining of New York and 40 per cent by British and South African interests.

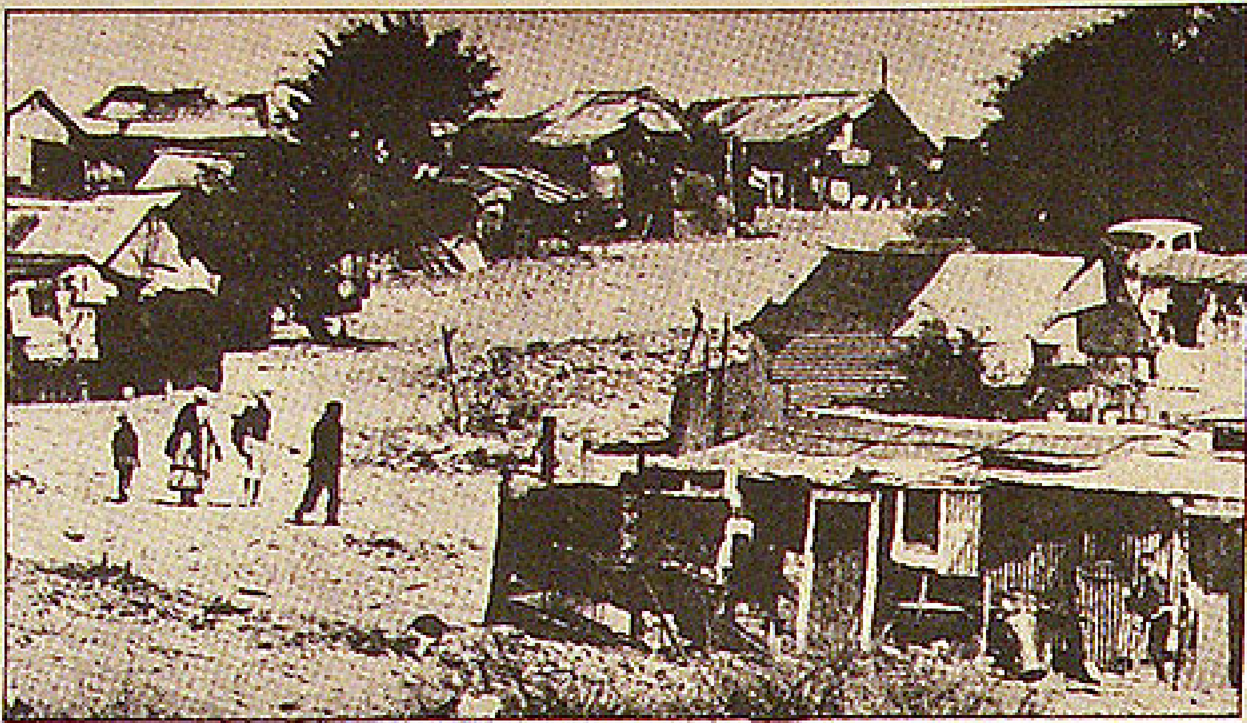
In the early 1970's, Tsumeb had a roster of some 5,000 contract laborers out of a total 43,000 in the country. The average cash wage paid the contract mine workers was $55 a month, according to the International Labor Organization. In addition, Black laborers received the use of concrete bunks without mattresses, and subsistence food.

Kauluma's first contract was as a "houseboy" in the home of a South African policeman. There he worked for two years at first for $4 a month, later for $6.50, living in an outside room with cold water shower and bucket toilet.

The deliberate humiliations were unending, but not unusual, as the bishop-elect points out. In a paper on the contract system written in connection with his studies in the U.S., Kauluma reports:

"I was not allowed to use their *plates, glasses or cups*....To my surprise I found that sometimes the dog was offered food on plates which I, as a human being, was not allowed to use."

After a year Kauluma did what increasing numbers of Namibians are doing: broke the contract. He returned home to the northern region of Ovamboland, but his



Housing conditions for Namibian contract laborers.

name as a deserter had been sent to his collaborationist chief, who turned him over to the police.

He was returned manacled to the town in which the Smids live, where a judge ordered him punished with five strokes of a moistened cane and returned to the Smids.

South Africans maintain that this system is entirely voluntary. Actually they have made it impossible for many Namibians to survive without submitting to it.

"There's no other source of income there," Kaubema explains. "The only way to survive is to sell your labor."

The loss of self-sufficiency began as the colonialists forced a money-based economy on the existing barter society. For example, the salt pans were closed, forcing people to buy salt in stores, with money. The annual tax on males over 18, at first payable in corn or cattle, later had to be paid in cash. In times of drought, food brought in by the government could only be obtained by those with money.

To further exploit the dependence its policies had created, the government in 1943 set up the South West Africa Native Labor Association (SWANLA) as the only agency for the sale of Black labor. For Blacks the local SWANLA "recruiting" office was the only legal way out of the "homeland" to seek work in the south.

"RECRUITS"

As Kauluma discovered when he reported at the office in Ondangwa in August, 1953, the main interest in the "recruits" was their physical condition. After undergoing a medical check and being tagged A, B or C, the "recruits" had their thumb prints marked on a contract they hadn't read, which designated their pay on a scale from 4-14 cents a day.

At that point they didn't know what work they were to do, or where, or for whom, but they were legally bound to do whatever they were told for two years, on pain of beating, fine or imprisonment.□

East Timor Celebrates Independence

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Timor and "make a thorough on-the-spot assessment of the situation in the territory."

Indonesia has protested the U.N. evaluation that a "critical situation" exists in East Timor, where Jakarta now has 45,000 combat troops. At the same time, the Suharto regime has gone to great effort to prevent any genuine international scrutiny of conditions created by its two-year effort to forcibly annex the territory, reports the *Guardian*.

While Indonesia's U.N. representative called the decision "unrealistic" and "unacceptable," East Timor's FRETILIN liberation forces welcomed plans for a U.N. inspection team.

Speaking for FRETILIN, U.N. Ambassador Jose Ramos-Horta told the Decolonization Committee the U.N. visit should include both "towns under Indonesian occupation and the liberated areas under FRETILIN administration where the great masses of the people live." Approximately 90 per cent of the East Timorese population lives in the 85 per cent of the country liberated by FRETILIN. Contradictions recently emerged with in the FRETILIN ranks over which path the liberation movement should take — continuing the armed struggle or taking the Indonesian offer of "amnesty."

Defeat of the latter view — held by a tiny minority of the movement's leadership — led ultimately to the September ouster and arrest by FRETILIN of its president, Xavier do Amaral, who will be tried for treason.

"We know how to free ourselves by our own means," the FRETILIN leader emphasized. "We do not accept, by any means, any amnesty coming from our major enemies."□

C.I.A., Canadian Police Links

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range of cooperation between the CIA and Canadian agencies could "cause grave diplomatic eruptions between Canada and the United States."

The book was published after the authors agreed to many deletions by the CIA, references to which Canada objected.

Featherbed's genesis was in the 1960's when Security Services officers reviewed a secret report of a royal commission that had looked into alleged espionage in government circles in the wake of the defection of Igor Gouzenko, a code clerk at the Russian embassy in Ottawa.

Gouzenko turned over to Canadian authorities documents that led to the jailing of a member of Parliament and government employees.□

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Women's Meeting Protests Bias

(Paris, France) - A delegation of Latin American women participated in a recent international feminist conference here to present their views on the conditions of women in that troubled continent.

"Our situation in Latin America differs from that of women in Europe," the Latin American contingent said. "It is different not only because of our role in keeping capitalist society alive . . .but also because of the particular form of oppression to which we are subjected, an oppression which needs to be seen in the context of the reality of our dependent capitalists societies. . .Because of our unequal and dependent development to which our countries have been subjected, we find forms of women's oppression which are. . .surviving century-old traditions and mystifications. These traditions are retained and assimilated by our dependent capitalist systems and used for its preservation. . . This situation is aggravated under military dictatorships, in that the forces of power encounter no obstacles in exercising their domination. . ."

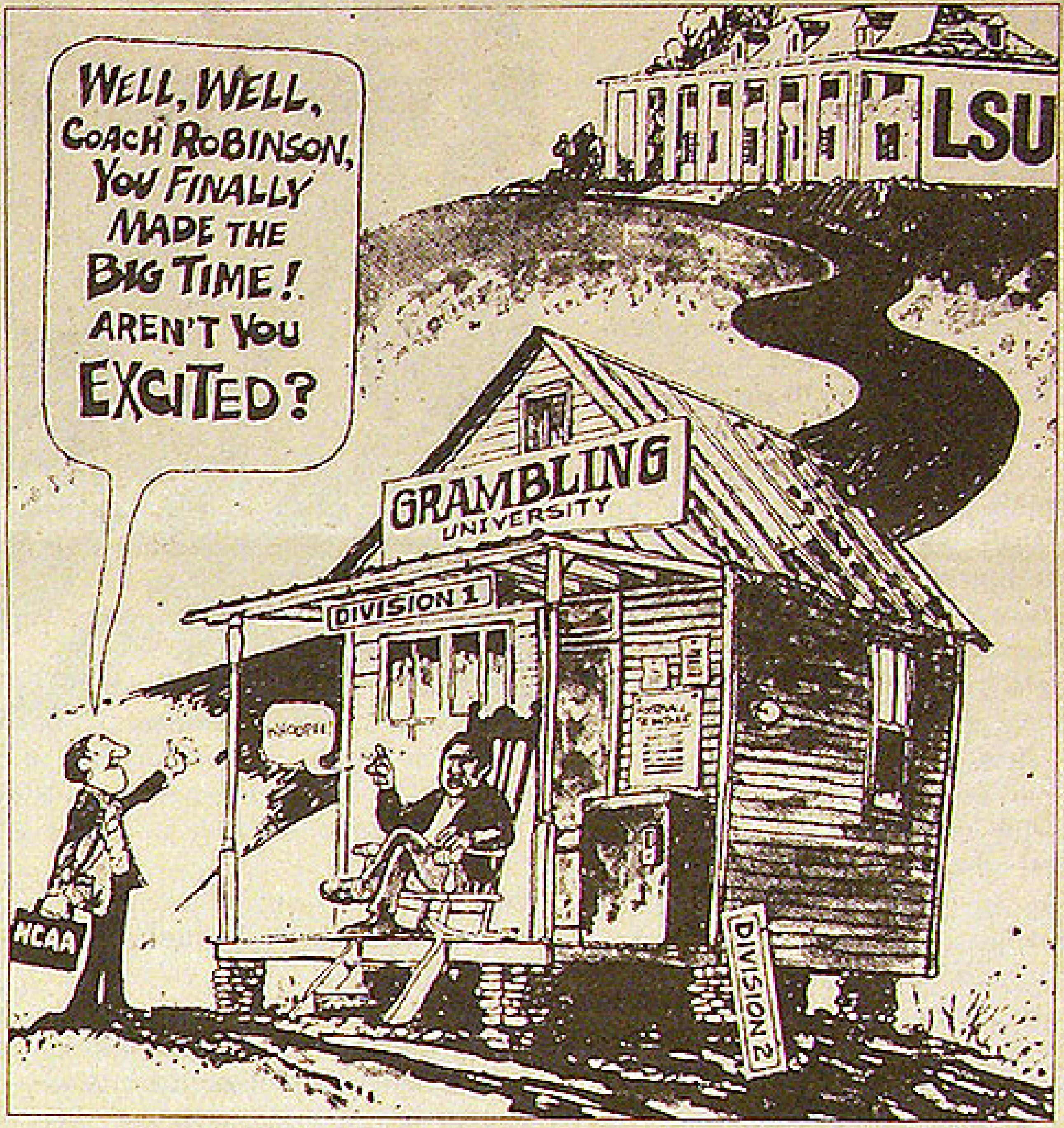
The delegation pointed out that in military regimes in Latin America a worker: ". . .in his factory has no right to struggle against his boss, has no right to participate in union activities, and is subjected to super-exploitation. . .This oppression coincides with these regimes intentions to use women. . .transforming some into tools of oppression in the army and police, as is occurring in Chile for example. This ploy is also occurring in countries where 'democracies' are in force, where profoundly demagogical policies are applied towards women, making them believe that they are participating in the country's political life, as is the case in Colombia. . ."

"Finally, in this international gathering of women, we would like to protest the fact that thousands and thousands of women in Latin America are being tortured, raped and assassinated in the jails and concentration camps of Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia and Brazil."

SPORTS

TROUNCES SOUTHERN IN BAYOU CLASSIC

DESPITE N.C.A.A. DIVISION 1 STATUS, GRAMBLING U. STILL GETS 2nd CLASS TREATMENT



(New Orleans, La.) - In what has become one of the major annual Black social events, a Superdome capacity-crowd of 76,000 watched Grambling quarterback Doug Williams throw for three touchdowns to lead the Tigers to a 55-20 victory last week over arch-rival Southern University.

The Bayou Classic is "the biggest Black happening in the United States, if not the world," says Grambling coach Eddie Robinson. A Friday night parade, featuring the schools' two nationally-known bands, was viewed by an estimated 200,000. Last year, the game outdrew the Sugar Bowl, matching No. 1 ranked Pittsburgh, led by Heisman Trophy winner Tony Dorsett, vs. Georgia.

Hotels and the best night spots were jammed and the French Quarter rocked during the weekend festivities. "It's more than Mardi Gras to Blacks, more than the Super Bowl," says Jinx Broussard, one of the game's annual spectators. "Blacks go to the Super Bowl, but it's not theirs. Carnival is great, but. . . This is ours."

Southern and Grambling began playing football against each other in 1933. Five years ago, the game moved to State Fair Stadium in Shreveport when it outgrew Grambling's dinky 7,500-seat field. It shifted to New Orleans the next year, and it took off, drawing 80,000 at Tulane Stadium that first year.

In two years at the Superdome, the game has averaged 74,000 in the 72,000-seat stadium. Last year's attendance of 76,000 was the largest crowd ever to watch a football game in the Dome. The Grambling-Southern game is the only football event that sells standing room here.

In the game, Robert Woods returned punts of 62 yards and 45 yards for Grambling scores.

Williams' three touchdown passes gave him 91 scoring tosses for his four-year career at the small Black Louisiana school. It is the most ever by any collegiate player. Williams completed 19 of 30 attempts for 307 yards, giving the Heisman Trophy candidate 2,963 yards for the season, with a regular-season game against Temple University scheduled this week in Tokyo.

After the game, Southern's interim coach, Ken Tillage, was fired.

The Grambling State University football team has become somewhat of a living legend. The university is located in the city of Grambling, a town of about 4,000 tucked in the rolling forests of northern Louisiana about 75 miles east of Shreveport.

The all-Black team has become one of the Bayou state's top tourist attractions. The school — with an enrollment of 3,895 — has sent 160 players to professional football, best in the country in the last 15 years.

It probably logs more air miles each season (about 75,000) than any other major college team. It holds football attendance records in both the Astrodome and Superdome and has played before more than 2.7 million fans since 1969. Robinson is second only to Alabama's Bear Bryant in career victories with a 262-86-11 record. Grambling this year has been granted National Collegiate Athletic Association Division I status.

Grambling's football prominence, however, has done little to upgrade its deteriorated athletic facilities. Its home field is a no-frills, 14,000-seat "stadium" adjacent to its pasture-like practice field.

Grambling has the worst athletic facilities of Louisiana's 10 state-supported football-playing universities and faces an overall $5.3 million deficit. Because of its rising prominence the school is resented by many area Whites who, according to one Grambling coach, "are still fighting the Civil War."

Grambling, like many small Black colleges, has become a predominantly women's school, with the female-male ratio as high as 4 to 1.

The school's football team was so weak in 1937 — the year the town first had electricity, sewerage and water — that it lost to the Baker, Louisiana, high school team Robinson played for. After graduating from Leland College in 1941, Robinson returned to coach Grambling.

Taking all-night bus rides to away games — "coloreds" weren't allowed in most Southern motels — the Tigers were unbeaten and unscored on in their second year.

Grambling's pro football honor roll — especially since 1962 — when the Tigers had 13 drafted, including Buck Buchanan, Ernie Ladd, Roosevelt Taylor and Willie Brown — reads like a *Who's Who:* Paul (Tank) Younger (drafted by Los Angeles in 1948), Willie Davis, Clifton McNeil, James Harris, Nemiah Wilson, Garland Boyette, Essex Johnson, Henry Davis, Delles Howell, Woody Peoples, Charlie Joiner, James Hunter, Sammie White, Gary Johnson, and Robert Barber.

Tiny Grambling is the only university to have two graduates coaching in the National Basketball Association, Willis Reed (New York Knicks) and Bob Hopkins (Seattle SuperSonics). Baseball notables include Ralph Garr, Tommie Agee and Cleon Jones.

The Grambling Tigers have taken their act to nearly every major stadium in the country. Seemingly every road game they play is now a "classic." The Whitney J. Young game against Morgan State has drawn sellout crowds at Yankee Stadium in New York. The Space City Classic against Texas Southern nearly always fills the Astrodome. A game last year in Tokyo against Morgan State, the first of five for Grambling, packed a 50,000-seat house.

However, Grambling is still beset by financial woes. Most buildings are prewar, red-brick structures which look something like barracks. The 14,000-seat football field (grandstand on one side, bleachers on the other) has seated up to 22,000, utilizing the grassy slopes on either end.

The weight room and thinly carpeted locker room look like an average high school's. Paint is chipping off the ceiling, and old window-unit air-conditioners have been installed. The "stereo" system consists of an antique phonograph which looks as if it were picked up at a rummage sale.

ATHLETIC DORM

The athletic dorm is one of the barracks-like structures, with two players to the compact 8-by-15 rooms which used to house four. The floors are tile, the sinks are stained brown from years of use, the walls are in need of paint and the only phone for nearly 70 players is in the dorm office.

"When we go into pro ball, we feel we are representing Grambling and other small Black schools which don't get the publicity of a USC (University of Southern California) or Notre Dame," said quarterback James Harris, now with San Diego. "Guys from other schools aren't usually that close, but we're like brothers in a family. When we're united on a pro team, we celebrate."

Steve Biko

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Biko moved from the prison, which had no qualified medical staff, to a police cell closer to the physician's home, allowing Lang to visit Biko regularly.

Thirty-six hours later, Biko's condition had deteriorated and he was driven over 700 miles to a prison hospital in Pretoria where he died shortly after arrival.

Under penetrating cross-examination by Kentridge, Lang appeared shaken at times as he attempted to explain why Biko was never treated for the "extensive traumatic brain contusions" described by an autopsy as the primary cause of death.

"It's inexplicable, I can't explain that to you," the White doctor said, turning red in the face when Kentridge asked him why he gave police a medical certificate after his initial examination of the Black leader that gave Biko a clean bill of health. "I must have missed something," Lang claimed.

Among the things that the doctor "missed" were a cut lip, a bruised chest, and cuts and swellings where the shackles in which Biko, naked, was kept chained, cut into his hands and feet.

The medical certificate was written on September 7, three hours after police alleged they engaged in a scuffle with Biko, during which they say he fell and struck his head.

In later testimony last week, two pathologists, while agreeing that 30-year-old Biko sustained five separate brain injuries, differed as to the cause of those injuries.

Dr. J.D. Loubser, the chief state pathologist, said that Biko's brain damage was caused by a single blow to the head, most likely coming from a fall on the floor rather than a deliberate blow on the head.

However, Dr. Neville S. Proctor, head of pathology at the South African Institute of Medical Research, said that the injuries were the result of at least three impacts and possibly four, supporting the Biko family's position that the Azanian activist was beaten.

In Proctor's autopsy report, he said that Biko's injuries were sustained three to 15 days before his death. Loubser, on the other hand, maintained that they most likely occurred three to five days before Biko died. □



Azanian youths raise their fists in Black Power salute during funeral services for slain Black activist Steve Biko.

Front Rejects Smith's Plan

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

successfully launching the negotiations would be for the government to make a firm commitment to the principle of majority rule based on adult suffrage."

Smith, however, continued to insist that the interests of the White settlers would have to be protected in Black-ruled Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

A spokesperson for the Patriotic Front said that Smith's "internal settlement" would result in a "puppet government. The guerrilla war will continue until genuine democracy is established. Smith is just retreating into another merry-go-round of negotiations that will lead nowhere."

Josiah Chinamano, vice president of the political wing of the Front, declared, "Zimbabwe is not the personal property of the Rhodesian Front [Smith's party] to give away to blue-eyed stooges."

In Lusaka, Zambia, a spokesperson for Joshua Nkomo, head of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) — which, along with the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) comprises the Patriotic Front — charged that Smith was merely seeking to buy time for his beleaguered White minority government.

"The only guarantee of independence of Zimbabwe is the intensification of armed struggle," said George Silundika, ZAPU spokesperson.

Smith said that he would begin discussions this week with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, head of the United African National Council, (UANC), Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, head of the African National Council, (ANC), and Chief Jeremiah Chirau, the leader of a group of Black tribal leaders called the Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO).

Each of the three organizations, known collaborators with the Smith regime gave their support to Smith's plan.

While Muzorewa is reported to have a large popular following inside Rhodesia, his UANC has no armed forces. It is widely accepted that the Patriotic Front, which is steadily defeating the Smith rgime on the battlefield, will wield power in Black-ruled Zimbabwe because of its popularly backed armed force, the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA).

The Smith government continues to refuse to include the Patriotic Front in any discussions on Black majority rule. □

Angola Celebrates 2nd Independence Day

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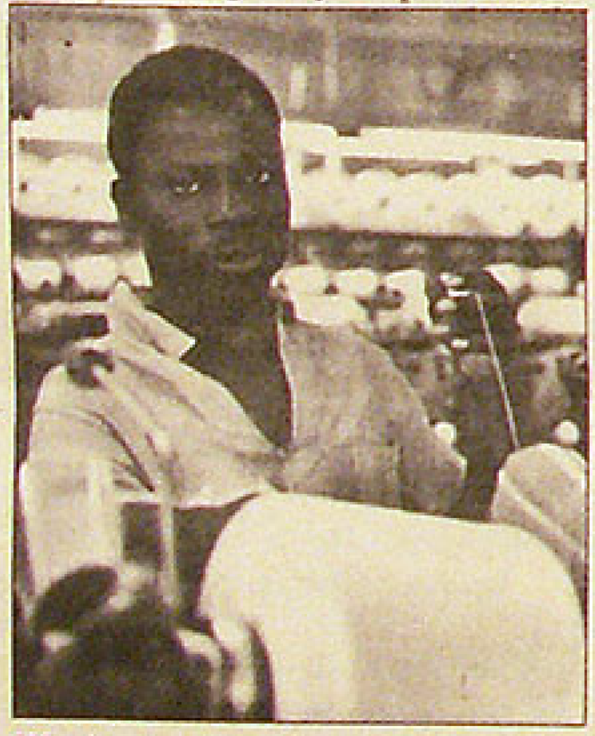
capacity to detect our enemies. In this third year all of us, the whole Angolan people, are going to act firmly against those who persist in trying to destroy our unity or our regime."

And as MPLA and government leaders fanned out across the country for independence commemorations, thousands of people's militia members — men and women — marched through Luanda's May 1st Square, guns in hand, to demonstrate the determination of the masses to defend their revolutionary conquests of the last two years.

They represented hundreds of thousands of men and women already in the militia or about to be mobilized in the drive to enlarge the militia forces for their role as defenders of Angola's revolution.

Later, at a sports stadium in the capital, Angolan youth demonstrated some of the strides forward in education as youngsters gave a display of gymnastics, vaulting and dancing which simply could not have taken place under colonial rule.

Recent visitors have marveled over Angola's achievements since liberation. These include establishment of a national currency (the kwanza); nationalization of many strategically important industries, placing the means of production in certain sectors firmly in the hands of the people; and the wide programs of public health, education and literacy, all free.



Worker in Angolan textile factory.

Some 70,000 adults have learned how to read and write since November, 1976, when the literacy campaign was launched on a nationwide scale. In primary schools enrollment has soared — nearly 1.5 million children are now enrolled, three times the colonial figure, though only 60 per cent of school-age children are as yet covered.

In public health, thanks to generous cooperation by Cuba's revolutionary men and women, provincial and municipal hospitals are fully operational; mobile units are touring the countryside (though MPLA leaders say more must be done in this area); 17 medical schools have been opened across the country (there had been four under Portuguese rule), and mass vaccination campaigns were launched during 1977, beginning with the record-breaking children's polio vaccination in which 1.35 million children were vaccinated all over the country.

Politically, Angolans are preparing for the MPLA's first congress, due to be held next month, to decide on the formation of a Marxist-Lenninist vanguard party. □

S.F. RAP Program

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

forced out like this too."

Once acclaimed as a community "anyone could live in," the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco is becoming known as the community any real estate investor can rip-of, *Keep Strong* reports.

Residents have become increasingly alarmed at the sky rocketing rents and fancy commercialization of the Haight St. business area. For many, Haight-Ashbury was the place they moved after being forced from other neighborhoods because of high rents or outright demolition.

In a recent interview with Anna Darden of the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council, she charged that the city's RAP program (Rehabilitation Assistance Program) is what actually began the intensive speculaton in the area:

"The announcement alone of Upper Ashbury being designated a RAP area in 1973 was enough to begin an intensive six month speculation. The program has only been implemented since April of this year but it was announced in July of 1973. After it was announced there was three times as many buildings sold for double the price after July than before. Since that time speculation has gone on throughout the entire area."

The controversial RAP program has been assailed across the city by community leaders for doing the exact opposite of its intended purpose.

On paper the RAP program is supposed to bring about 95 per cent of the buildings in a designated area up to code within five years.

The program sends out teams of inspectors who inspect the buildings and if code violations are found, the owner is required to do the necessary repairs. Through the progam, low-interest loans are available to make it easier for building owners to afford repairs.

Critics of the program point out that what's on paper and how it really works are two different stories. They charge that the program works to force out low and moderate income people and turn areas into upper income communities.

One Haight resident called RAP, "the city's neutron bomb — it drives poor people out but leaves the buildings available!"

Other criticisms include

•Tenant protection in the progam is vague, undefined, and unenforceable.

•In multi-unit buildings, the owner is guaranteed the same rate of profits so costs are passed onto the tenants in higher rents thus forcing out many tenants.

•Loans are not available to all but the program is mandatory. Therefore many low-income owners of small buildings are forced to sell out because they can't afford to make the repairs. The only ones who can afford to buy are the big guys.

•Investors will flock to a RAP area to take advantage of the low interest loans, slap a coat of paint on and some fancy lights and then sell the building at enormous profits and quickly pay the loan, thus ending any obligation to keep rents reasonable. The next owner will be forced to raise rents because his mortgage is higher.

•Once speculation begins in an area it quickly spreads and forces rents and housing prices ridiculously high, thus driving out low and moderate income families.

Community groups have filed suit seeking an injunction against the RAP program. The basis of the suit is "an inadequate environmental impact report" which the plaintiffs allege underestimated the accompanying speculation by 90 per cent of what has actually happened.

Without a doubt the situation in the Haight has become critical. One woman told of how she recently received in the mail a rental agreement from her management company that wanted $100 deposit on every pet she had. □

Letters to the Editor

I AM SUSPICIOUS

Dear Editor,

I am suspicious.

I am suspicious because Carter claims that he is creating 35,000 jobs a week, yet unemployment has gone up.

I am suspicious because the most liberal U.S. senator in Congress (Hart) died of cancer. Now Hubert Humphrey has cancer. He never mentions the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill anymore.

I am suspicious because we have more coal that can be turned to oil than any nation on earth, yet Carter talks only about taxing all of us for using foreign oil, like we will always be dependent on foreign oil.

I am suspicious because it seems to me that Carter has done nothing but made matters worse in this country and world, he even gets upset when other countries make good, humane, and civilized proposals and initiatives. In fact, he has done no more than ex-President Ford would have done.

I am suspicious because we Black people are no better off now than we were before Carter took office, one whole year later!

And if we Black people don't unite behind all that shit, before matters get worse, then I really will be suspicious!

Robert Earl Warren
P.O. Box 2060
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

BLACK SOLEDAD INMATES SHOT BY RACIST GUARD

Dear Editor and Comrade,

I am writing to inform you of blatant, rampant, racially-motivated abuses that are continuely being carried out against Blacks in general, the struggling in particular, here in Soledad's O-Wing.

I am sure you are aware of the incident that took place on January 13, 1970, on the exercise yard here in O-Wing when a racist guard shot and killed three comrades. Black and White inmates have not exercised together for obvious reasons here in O-Wing since then. The exercise yards are divided by fences. Recently, a number of White inmates climbed over the fence into a yard with only two Blacks on it at the time and assaulted them with weapons. Both of them received wounds, one serious. This was done in clear view of the gun tower which was occupied by a guard who fired anywhere from five to nine shots. When the shooting was over one White inmate was treated for bird shot on his feet — two Blacks lay wounded in there on assigned exercise yards. What does it all mean? Just another incident in which the racist guards conspire with the racist White inmates to commit atrocities against Blacks. Hopefully this particular incident will be printed. Make the people aware that the same racial attitudes and practices that resulted in the death of three comrades January, 1970, came very close to claiming two more in October, 1977.

I was transferred from San Quentin for medical reasons and upon my return I found that the BPP papers were no longer being sent to me. I assume my keepers had a hand in this. Would you begin sending them to me again. Feel free to use my name, my position is clearly understood concerning acts of this nature.

A Luta Continua

Dennis L. Sanders B-50155
O-Wing 137
CFT Central
Soledad, California 93960

C.E.T.A. Worker Fired

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

could pass as White) that she shouldn't "let niggers like Gloria Davis get you in trouble because all they want to do is leach off CETA funds or welfare."

On their first day of work the San Francisco county clerk told Mrs. Davis and her co-workers, "Welcome aboard, but I don't care for CETA workers." Fletcher has been known to comment that CETA employees were just taking welfare payoffs and not doing much work. When Fletcher was confronted about the racist statement he had made to Ms. Curry, he merely laughed.

Mrs. Davis, a mother of two, insists that she has been a conscientious and consistent worker. Before working in the county clerk's office, she had been a senior clerk at the U.C. Medical Center in San Francisco for more than seven years.

After being laid off her unemployment ran out and she took a CETA job to keep off the welfare rolls. Although she was doing the same work that she was doing at the U.C. Medical Center, she was being paid much less money in her job at the county clerk's office.

Hare has been asked to document Mrs. Davis' alleged absenteeism but he has not responded. According to Eunice Elton head of the San Francisco mayor's Manpower Office, "We've had a lot of trouble with that (county clerk's) office."

"Is the county clerk's office an employment booby trap," she asked, "for the 18 CETA workers assigned there, and is it infected with racial prejudice? The jury is still out on both counts."

A hearing before the Civil Service Commission is scheduled for December 5 and Mrs. Davis will seek an investigation into her firing and a transfer to a new CETA position.

Mrs. Davis has went to a number of city offices and officals seeking help and she has received only promises, no results. For the time being CETA has decided not to send any more workers to the county clerk until this issue is resolved.

In the meantime, Ms. Davis will be unemployed with no incoming funds to support herself and her two small children, except for the welfare aid which she has been trying so hard to avoid. □

"Sunbelt"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

have been extremely adept at keeping unions out.

North Carolina has twice the proportion of families living in poverty as Illinois, Ohio or Pennsylvania. Its death rate from early infancy diseases — always a powerful index of social conditions — is more than a fourth higher than the national average, while its ratio of doctors to population is only 75 per cent of the nationwide mean.

A 1976 report by the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration offers powerful evidence of the uneven growth of the southern economy.

Between 1970 and 1975, non-agricultural employment increased in the South by 16.7 per cent, while such employment rose in the northern industrial states by only 1.3 per cent.

Yet the growth in employment did not translate into a better living standard for Southerners. In 1975, for example, North Carolina's per capita income was 18 per cent below the national average, while New York's was 13 per cent above it.

In 1977, the Senate Appropriations Committee reported that despite the increase in jobs and industries, per capita income in the South remained the lowest in the nation.



Extremely harsh living conditions in rural South where, as in North Carolina's "Sunbelt," the infant mortality rate is much higher than the national average.

Even these statistics overstate the economic welfare of the southern population, however, for they mask the fact that a much higher proportion of the South's personal income goes to the rich, while a much lower share goes to the poor.

Economic growth in North Carolina has had a limited impact for two main reasons: growth has brought a decreasing number of new jobs in proportion to capital investment, and most of the jobs it has brought are in low-paying industries.

The state's unemployment rate is 6 per cent, just below the national average, but high enough to have been considered critical in more optimistic times.

One reason for this is that North Carolina's economy has begun to shift away from labor-intensive industries — like textiles and furniture — to high-technology industries like chemicals, that bring far fewer jobs.

The economic future of North Carolina and the entire South now seems clouded, because recent figures show that new investments create a much smaller number of jobs than they did in years past, and as the jobs are created, population tends to rise by the same amount as the number of jobs created.☐

Farm Protest

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

phone recently by saying, "Help support the farmers' strike."

"I'm not a Carter, I'm a Spann," she said. "I don't have the credentials to speak for the President, but I don't know why he's not here."

The protest was the largest of a series of farm protests in recent weeks. The farmers are demanding "full parity" — which will guarantee that they receive expenses plus a fair profit — instead of the 60 per cent of parity that they say the federal government now permits.

The demonstration was sponsored by the American Agriculture Movement. The protesters have vowed that if their demands are not met by the President and Congress, they will stage an even bigger "tractorcade" December 10 from downstate Valdosta to Atlanta and will join a proposed nationwide strike starting December 14 to curtail the nation's food supply by not growing and not selling their farm products.

EMPTY SHELVES

"You just wait and see what happens when the American people find their supermarket shelves empty," John Bolin, a young farmer from nearby Richland said.

Many of the country's farmers contend that they are losing money because federal agricultural price supports are too low, costs are too high and federal drought relief is too slow in arriving. Many say they may be forced out of business within a year or two.

"I agree everybody's paying more for food," Ted Evans, 29, a farmer from Sceven County said.

"But we're getting the short end of the stick. I think the problem is that a lot of people — between the farmer and the consumer — are making money."

Farm income in Georgia this year has fallen about $700 million, according to estimates by state officials, partly because of the Southwest's worst drought in nearly a quarter century.

During the rally, tractors bore signs reading, "Hell No. We Won't Grow," "Where's the Turkey AFTER Thanksgiving," and a sign on a manure spreader read, "Manure From Washington Is What the Farmers Have Been Getting."

"Jimmy (Carter) hasn't been a farmer in the true sense," said Mrs. Spann. "He's been a landowner, an agribusinessman, if you will. These folks out here are true farmers. They're dirt farmers." ☐

Promises, But No Action, For San Antonio Villa

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

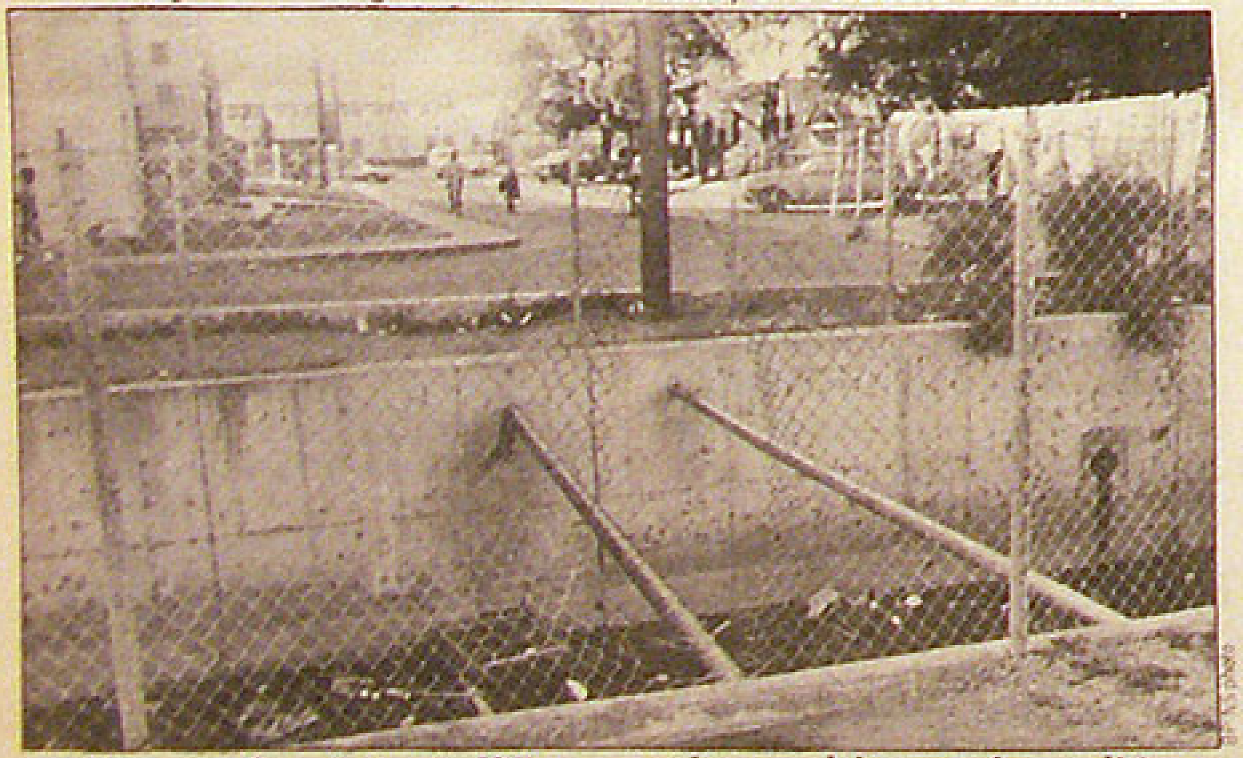
use by the Villa's youth.

Coupled with the $914,000 which is already slated to improve living conditions in San Antonio, major changes should occur within this deteriorating housing project within the next year. However, the question remains as to how many, if any, of these promises will be kept.

At a luncheon held last week at the home of Black Oakland-Piedmont Superior Judge Clinton White, attended by California Governor Jerry Brown and Black Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson, the subject of San Antonio came up very often.

Brown has made Oakland a priority target in his "Save The Cities" program and San Antonio Villa seemingly is a major target for redevelopment within the city.

Representing San Antonio residents at the luncheon were Mrs. Autry Smith and Ms. Jackie Jones, two leaders in the Villa's tenants' union. Due to the continued protests of residents over the past few years, considerable attention has focused on the square-block housing project.



Children at San Antonio Villa are endangered by unsafe conditions such as the filthy creek (note hole in the fence).

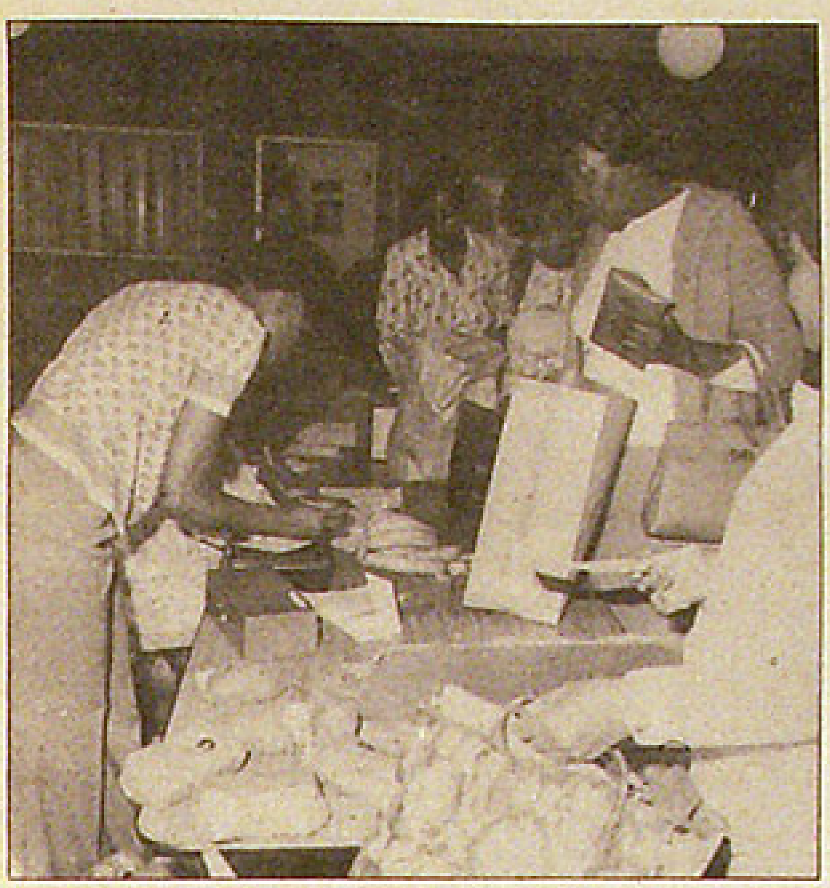
While there are over 600 children in the 178-unit project, there are hardly any recreational facilities to adequately accomodate all of these children. The Villa's "recreation center", which was renovated within the past year after years of complaints, can only house 45 people at one time due to fire regulations.

At the luncheon a $250,000 grant from the city of Oakland's Community Development office was discussed along with a proposal to obtain $32,000 in state funds. The money is slated to be used for the construction of a recreational area adjacent to San Antonio.

Governor Brown, who faces re-election next year, seems determined to make Oakland a showcase for his program for saving the cities. In San Antonio Villa, where all of the city's most serious problems are magnified, the effectiveness of Brown's program will face a severe test.☐

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution." — Huey P. Newton



MINI-MARKET FOR SENIORS

GEORGE JACKSON MEDICAL CLINIC

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

SHOE PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)
Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.



OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

PEOPLE'S FREE LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

FREE PEST CONTROL

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Oakland Community School.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental facilities at the earliest ages.



GEORGE JACKSON MEDICAL CLINIC

FRED HAMPTON SPEAKS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

serious the thing is. They think the children we feed ain't really hungry. I don't know five-year-old kids that can act well, but I know that if they're not hungry we sure got some actors. We got five - year-old actorsthat could take the Academy Award. Last week they had a whole week dedicated to the hungry in Chicago — talking about the starvation rate here that we up 15 per cent. Over here where everybody should be eating. Why? Because of capitalism.

What are we doing? The Breakfast for Children Program. We are running it in a socialistic manner. People came and took our program, saw it in a socialistic fashion not even knowing it was socialism. People are going to take our Program and tell us to go on to a higher level. They're going to take that program and work it in a socialistic manner.

What did the pig say? He say, "Nigger — you like communism?"

"No sir, I'm scared of it."

"You like socialism?"

"No, sir, I'm scared of it."

"You like the Breakfast for Children Program?"

"Yes, sir, I'd die for it."

Pig said, "Nigger, that program is a socialistic program."

"I don't give a fuck if it's communism, you put your hands on that program mother fucker and I'll blow your brains out."

And he knew it. We been educating him, not by reading matter, but through observation and participation. By letting him come in and work our program. Not theory or theory alone, but theory and practice. The two go together. We not only thought about the Marxist-Leninist theory — we put it into practice. This is what the Black Panther Party is about.

Some people talk a lot about communism, but the people can't understand and progress to the stage of communists right away because of abstract arguments. They say you got to crawl before you can walk. And the Black Panther Party as the vanguard party thought that the Breakfast for Children Program was the best technique of crawling that any vanguard party could follow. And we got a whole lot of folks that's going to be walking. And then a whole lot of folks that are gonna be running. And when you got that, what you got? You got a whole lot of pigs that are gonna be running. That's what our program's about.

When people got a problem they come to the Black Panther Party for help and that's good, because, like Mao says, we are supposed to be ridden by the people. Huey says we're going to be ridden down the path of social revolution and that's for the people.



FRED HAMPTON

The people ought to know that the Black Panther Party is one thousand per cent for the people They write a lot of articles, you know, niggers, would run up to you in a minute — when I say niggers I mean White niggers and Black niggers alike — niggers will run up to you and talk about, "Man, I read in the *Tribune* today." Well you say, "Man, if you didn't read it in THE BLACK PANTHER paper than you ain't read shit."

A Panther understands it's a class struggle — not a race question. You have to understand the pressures the Black Panther Party goes through saying this. You can see the pressures the Black Panther Party goes through by forming a coalition with Whites.

You can see that we had a group in California who committed their first acts of violence on the Black Panther Party. Ron Karnega and US [organization] never shot nothing but dope until they shot them brothers. They been an organization longer than the Black Panther Party. When the Black Panther Party stood up and said we not going to fight racism with racism US said, "No, we can't do that because it's a race question and if you make it a class question then the revolution might come sooner. We in US ain't prepared for no revolution because we think that 'Power grows from the sleeve of a Dashiki.'" They are armed with rhetoric.

SOLIDARITY

We're not going to fight racism with racism, we're going to fight racism with solidarity. Even though you think you ought to fight capitalism with Black capitalism, we're going to fight capitalism with socialism.

So what should we do if we're the vanguard? What is it right to do? Is it right for the leadership of that struggle to go faster than the followers of that struggle can go? No! We're not going to be dealing in commandism, we're not going to be dealing in tailism. We say that just as fast as the people can possibly go, that's just as fast as we can take it.

While we take it we must be sure that we are not missing the people in the valley. In the valley we know that we can learn to understand the life of the people. We know that with all the bullshit out here you can come to consider yourself on the mountain top. I may even consider myself one day on the mountaintop. I may have already.

But I know that in the valley there are people like Benny and there are people like me, people like Mickey White and people like Huey P.Newton. And that below that valley are people like Bobby Hutton. We know that going into the valley is a dangerous thing. We know that when you go into the valley you got to make a commitment.

A lot of people think the revolution is bullshit, but it's not. A lot of us think that when you get in the revolution you can talk your way out of things, but that's not true. Ask Bobby Hutton, ask Huey Newton. Ask these people whether it's a game.

If you get yourself involved in a revolutionary struggle then you've got to be serious. You got to know what you're doing. That's the reason we ask people to follow the leadership of the vanguard party. Because we all theorizing and we all practicing. We make mistakes, but we're always correcting them and we're always getting better.

We used to run around yelling about Panther Power — the Panthers run it. We admit we made mistakes. Our Ten Point Program is in the midst of being changed right now, because we used the word "White" when we should have used the word "capitalist."

We're the first to admit our mistakes. We no longer say Panther Power because we don't believe the Panthers should have all the power. We are not for the dictatorship of the Panthers. We are not for the dictatorship of Black people. We are for the dictatorship of the people.

The difference between the people and the vanguard is very important. You got to understand that the Panther Party *is* the vanguard. If you are about going to the people you've got to understand that the vanguard leads the people.

After the social revolution, the vanguard party, through our educational programs — and that program is overwhelming — educated people to the point that they can run things themselves. That's what you call educating the people, organizing the people, arming the people and bringing them revolutionary political power. That means people's power. That means the people's revolution.□